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**THE REV. FRANCIS CLOSE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE TRAINING
INSTITUTION AT CHELTENHAM 1845-78**

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EDUCATION POLICY AND MANAGEMENT

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ON

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Abstract

The Foundation of the Training Institution at Cheltenham 1845 - 1878

by

Robert Sydney Trafford

This study investigates the foundation and the first three decades of the teacher training institution at Cheltenham. Its main thesis is that the Cheltenham training college was primarily the work of one man, the Rev. Francis Close who was the incumbent of Cheltenham between 1824 - 1856. He played a key role at every stage including the initial period when the first proposal was made in 1845. Contrary to previous accounts it was not founded there in response to a widespread demand for a national institution based on evangelical principles. It was established as a result of Close's religious position within the Church of England, his dominant personality and the situation which he had helped to create in Cheltenham by that time. An evaluation of his career, his work in making Cheltenham a centre of education, his involvement in controversies and his educational ideas reveal him as a leading pioneer of education during the nineteenth century. His ideas on the training of teachers and the way he ensured that they were carried out are particularly important.

The second part of the study includes research into the way the college was governed, an account

of how it was financed, in particular how it was affected by the Revised Code, the staff, the students and their professional training. The chapter on the composition of the student body includes a detailed analysis of the first 288 students who were trained between 1847 and 1851 and of 2054 who were trained between 1852 and 1878. Throughout this period a very strong element of continuity in attitudes towards religious education and teacher training, which originated with Close, persisted against a background of rapid change.

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PART ONE

The Aim of this Thesis

This study arose from my own deep involvement in education over a period of forty years. For most of that time I was a lecturer in Education responsible for teacher training at the colleges in Cheltenham, first at St. Paul's College, then after the amalgamation at the College of St. Paul and St. Mary, finally at the Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education which was established shortly before I retired. My interest in the original foundation and the Evangelical tradition of the colleges was heightened when I became responsible for courses in the History of Education during the 1970s. This thesis is the result of my own interest in the origins of the fine institution in which I taught for nearly 28 years.

The first proposal to establish a training school in Cheltenham was made in 1845 when the Church of England Training School Association was formed as an Evangelical organisation separate from the National Society. The Rev. Francis Close was chairman of this association. Two years later he played a leading part in raising funds for the institution. This study investigates the extent to which he was personally responsible for the foundation.

Little was written about Close until G.T. Berwick wrote two articles which were published in Theology in 1939.¹ These were based on a study which he completed in 1938,² a copy of which is available in the Cheltenham Public Library.

¹ Berwick, G.T. "Close of Cheltenham, Parish Pope". Theology, Vol.39, September-October 1939 pp.193-201, pp.276-285.

² Berwick, G.T. Close of Cheltenham, Parish Pope. A Study of The Evangelical background to the Oxford Movement, An unpublished typescript in the Cheltenham Public Library, 1938.

Berwick argued that in Cheltenham Close "was transformed from a positive Evangelical churchman into a low church controversialist" and that "In Carlisle he travelled even further from his Simeonite principles".

In 1980 A.F. Munden¹ made a reassessment of Close's life and work and sought to correct the distorted image of him which had become common by then. This he believed was due in no small measure to Berwick's study.² He set out to refute Berwick's view by showing that Close was a "thorough-going Simeonite, who embodied and developed the principles of Simeon without changing his position". In addition his aim was to document Close's considerable achievements in the parish of Cheltenham "notably in the creation of district churches and associated parochial agencies; and to record his outstanding work, in making Cheltenham the foremost educational centre in the country."³ Munden successfully argued that Close's religious views were consistent throughout his life. He also documented Close's parochial work and educational achievements in detail, using primary sources. His study has provided a valuable basis for research into the background to the foundation of the Training Institution. This is included in parts two and three of this thesis. However Munden's final section, which deals with Close and the education of teachers, including the foundation in Cheltenham, is very brief. Also it adheres throughout to "the simple statement of the circumstances connected with the rise and

¹ Munden, A.F. *The Church of England in Cheltenham (1826-56) with Particular Reference to the Rev. Francis Close*, B.Litt, Birmingham, 1980.

² *ibid*, p.3.

³ *ibid*, p.2.

progress of their institution"¹ which Close himself wrote for subscribers and supporters in the First Annual Report (1848). At no point does Munden question the validity of this account.²

C. More's history of the first century of the Church Colleges at Cheltenham (1992)³ includes some important details of Close's role in a chapter about the foundation. He points out that "Close's later involvement in teacher-training was a logical continuation of his interest in education⁴ and that "it became increasingly important to Close and others that ritualism or "Romanism" should be positively countered". He also mentions Close's annual sermons on November 5th when he attacked the Roman Catholic Church and the Tractarians⁵. However his investigation of Close's motivation and role is limited, probably because of the wide scope of his study which covers one hundred years.

More concludes his section on the foundation of the college by stating that the original initiative, which was in the form of a letter from Samuel Codner, "fell on fertile ground: it is hard to believe that something similar would not have been proposed among Evangelicals" if this letter had never been written.⁶

This thesis challenges that view arguing that Close played a key role at every stage, including the initial period in 1845, when the first proposal was made. Contrary to previous accounts the Training Institution was not founded in response to a

¹ C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.14.

² See p.146 below.

³ More, C., 1992, *The Training of Teachers 1847-1947. A History of the Church Colleges at Cheltenham*, The Hambledon Press.

⁴ *ibid*, p.7.

⁵ *ibid*, p.14.

⁶ *ibid*.

widespread demand for a national institution based on Evangelical principles. It was established by Close as a result of his religious position within the Church of England and the situation which he had helped to create as Cheltenham expanded. By 1845 he had transformed the town into an educational centre and an Evangelical stronghold in which he was dominant. This enabled him to set up a training institution which he hoped would preserve and perpetuate his own religious beliefs. Studies of Cheltenham during the early part of the nineteenth century and an evaluation of Close's career and his influence in the town show that this was feasible. Accounts of his ability as an organiser and his record as a controversialist support this view. They also reveal him as one of the leading pioneers of education at that time.

The thesis also investigates how far the institution was shaped by the founder and the extent to which his wishes were carried out up to 1878. This requires a study of Close's religious beliefs and educational ideas particularly where teacher training was concerned. A study of the government of the institution to see where the real power lay and whether it changed was also necessary. The part which the first two principals and members of staff played in establishing the ethos and traditions of the college is also investigated.

In the conclusion to her study *The Training of Elementary Schoolteachers in England & Wales, 1840-90* J. Collins points out that "It is possible to trace a strong element of continuity against a background of general change, first in the perception of training held by management and officers and secondly ... in the views and attitudes of the students towards their chosen profession." She goes on to say: "An important factor in this context was the relation of the individual institution to its founding society and a continuing recognition of the dominant motive for its

establishment." ¹

This study identifies the dominant motive behind the foundation at Cheltenham and investigates the extent to which this was recognised by those who governed, taught and trained there during the first thirty-one years. The extent to which this recognition and continuity was affected by outside influences and change such as the intake of students and government agencies is described. In particular the effect of financial constraints, especially those imposed by the Revised Code and measures which were taken to ensure that the institution survived, are evaluated.

Finally some areas of the curriculum in which the training institution established a reputation for leadership are investigated. Did these originate with Close or prominent members of staff? To what extent did the college contribute to Cheltenham's reputation as an important national centre for education?

¹ Collins, J., *The Training of Elementary Schoolteachers in England and Wales, 1840-90*, PhD study, Bulmershe, CNAA, 1985, p.270.

PART TWO

Early Nineteenth Century Cheltenham

During the early years of the nineteenth century Cheltenham developed as a centre of entertainment and fashion which was visited by the influential, the rich and the famous. Because it had virtually no industry it was protected from the social unrest which occurred elsewhere as a result of the changes brought about by the industrial revolution. It attracted large numbers of active and articulate people as residents and they made it a centre of endless controversy, particularly over religious issues. These came to a head in 1845 when the training institutions for teachers were first planned. By that time the Rev. Francis Close, who had arrived on the scene in 1824, had transformed the town into a centre for education and teacher training and an evangelical stronghold in which he was dominant. The situation which he had helped to create in Cheltenham by that time made it possible for him to establish a training institution of national importance to safeguard his own religious beliefs and educational philosophy. This was a personal response to his concern that these beliefs might not be safeguarded within those teacher training institutions which already existed. Whether it would have been possible for Close to found such an institution in another town is a matter of conjecture. What is certain however is that Cheltenham provided a background which was unusually favourable for such an initiative.

The medicinal properties of Cheltenham water were first discovered in 1718 when the old wells were opened at the foot of Bay's Hill. Henry Skillicorne, a British merchant, turned these wells into a recognisable spot by developing pleasure gardens in their vicinity in 1738 and the Old Well Walk - a promenade 300 yards long, bordered by elm trees - was opened in 1743. A new pump room was built close to this walk in 1775 but the spa did not become popular nationally until the visit of George

III and the Princess Royal in 1788. During that year Cheltenham was "for a few short weeks the focus of the fashionable world."¹ Even then however development was very slow and for many years there were few signs of Cheltenham's later eminence as a fashionable watering place which would be patronised by royalty and high society. It remained a spa of middling rank. In 1801 Cheltenham was still a small market town with a population of 3,076. 20% of the male inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, though the first directory which was issued in 1800 listed 153 inhabitants who were letting lodgings to visitors.²

One of the reasons for this lack of development may have been bad communications. No direct road had been built from London and visitors had to reach the town via a poor road from Gloucester. Turnpikes constructed after 1810 improved the situation by opening routes to Gloucester, Birmingham and Bath, but it was the opening of new pump rooms and the construction of new buildings connected with the spa between 1809 - 1830 which transformed Cheltenham into an important centre for Regency and Victorian society, which Rowe claimed was "one of the most extensive and certainly the most elegant town in the Kingdom."³ During the early part of the century taking the waters was an important activity for those who came to the town seeking a cure because of infirmity and also for those in good health who took great pleasure in regular promenades to the pump room.

"There are few scenes more animated and inspiring than the Montpellier promenade on a fine summer morning between 8 and 10 o'clock. The presence of the lovely, the titled and the fashionable as they parade up and down the grand walk to the sound of music and breathing an atmosphere of sunshine and health, present a

¹Hart, G., *A History of Cheltenham*, Leicester U.P., 1965. p.138.

²More, C., *A Brief Economic and Social History of Cheltenham*, College of St. Paul and St. Mary, 1986, p.4.

³Rowe, G., *Rowe's Illustrated Cheltenham Guide*, George Rowe, Cheltenham, 1845, p.111.

scene of living loveliness, unsurpassed by the brightest of Stotlard or the fairy elysians of Spenser, for here indeed it may truly be said that 'ladies' eyes rain influence.' The gay scene must be witnessed to be rightly conceived: for nothing can exceed the animation and splendour of the morning promenade, except indeed, it to be that of the evening"¹

Montpellier was the most important of the new pump rooms which were built after the turn of the century. It was opened by Henry Thompson, a London merchant and underwriter, in 1809. He replaced this with a spacious promenade room, measuring 70 feet by 25 feet in 1817 and further enhanced it by constructing the Montpellier rotunda in 1826 and the extensive Montpellier Gardens which were opened in 1830.² Meanwhile Ruffs Regent Gardens, a pleasure garden were opened in 1811. New Assembly Rooms, costing £40,000 were opened by the Duke of Wellington in July 1816 and the Grand Promenade complete with a new pump room "The Sherborne" or "Imperial Spa" was opened in 1818.³ The Pittville Pump Room, which cost £60,000 and is still regarded as the finest Regency building in Cheltenham, opened in 1830.⁴

There were six different waters available at the Montpellier Spa and a family paid £2.20 for the season. "The pump room is always open at six o'clock in the morning throughout the year; and, during the height of the season, even at this early hour, many persons are found waiting to partake of the health restoring stream. It is not, however, until eight o'clock that the major part of the visitors arrive; from that hour to ten the walk and rooms are usually crowded, and a band of seventeen

¹Davies, H., *A View of Cheltenham in its Past and Present State*, The 4th edition of the Stranger's Guide. 1843, p.69.

²Rowe, G., op.cit. pp. 35-7.

³Golding, J., *Norman's History of Cheltenham*, p.45.

⁴ibid., p.549.

musicians are stationed at the end of the grand promenade, who perform a variety of the most esteemed compositions. Strangers and persons who only drink the water occasionally, and who do not, therefore, wish to subscribe, are charged a shilling each morning. It is customary to take two glasses, allowing an interval of fifteen minutes between each."¹

In 1816 the population of Cheltenham was said to be 10,000 "and the number of visitors each year 10,000 or nearly so."² Each week the local newspapers carried the names of those members of the royal family aristocracy and gentry who had arrived or departed. In 1823, the visitors "included 4 Dukes, 3 Duchesses, 6 Marquises, 5 Marchionesses, 4 Bishops, 10 Earls, 8 Countesses, 53 Lords, 70 Ladies besides a host of Honourables, Baronets, foreigners of title and other persons of distinction."³ They also reported the entertainments and social activities. Summer balls were held at the Montpellier Rotunda from July to October and Winter balls at the Assembly Rooms from December to April. Besides this, there were concerts, recitals and readings, the theatre, hunts and horse racing. Those with literary interests could go to Williams' library, which was opened next to the Assembly Rooms in 1815 or to Bethinson's library further down the High Street. They could also attend meetings and lectures at the Cheltenham Literary and Philosophical Institute founded in 1833. The number of visitors and the development of new spas, particularly those at Montpellier and Pittville encouraged a great deal of speculative building. In 1816, when the Duke and Duchess of Wellington and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans were the most important visitors it was noted that "a small house in the High Street which

¹Davies, H., op. cit., p.547.

²See Simeon, p.26.

³Golding, J., op.cit. p.547.

was let 20 years back for 12 now returns an annual rental of 100 guineas."¹ In that year also the Simeon trustees purchased the right of electing the incumbent of the parish from Joseph Pitt for £3,000. Pitt was an attorney from Cirencester and the greatest of all the speculative builders who developed the Pittville estate. In 1823 it was reported that contracts for new houses in the town amounted to £450,00, and that between 400 and 500 men were employed in the building trades.² By that time Cheltenham was one of the fastest growing centres in Britain. In 1821 the population had increased to 13,396, and to 23,000 or double that of Gloucester by 1831. This rapid growth produced strong social class divisions in which large numbers of tradesmen and people with humble occupations serviced the needs of a leisured minority. The nature of the town ensured that there could be little manufacturing industry in Cheltenham and so wages were low. In 1831 Capitalists, bankers and professionals made up 3% of the population and female servants 11% compared with 1.5% and 4% nationally.³

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and the period of peace which followed the treaties of Paris in 1814 and again after Napoleon's hundred days in November 1815 produced a large number of officers who were retired on half pay, even though they were quite young. For them and for others, such as government bondholders, who were moderately well off, Cheltenham became a desirable and fashionable place to retire. At the same time India was beginning to produce a class of officials and officers who also retired young. "The years from about 1830 to the middle of the last century were the time that Cheltenham first saw that great colony of Anglo-Indians who found in her climate the best environment for their

¹Golding, J., op.cit. p.543.

²ibid. p. 547.

³More, C., op. cit., p.2.

years of retirement, such events as the disasters of the Sikh war or of the Mutiny were keenly felt and followed in Cheltenham."¹ For example, on February 23rd 1846, "News arrived in Cheltenham of the battle of Moodkee, between 20,000 British and 60,000 Sikhs. The British, though victorious, lost 149 officers and 3,084 men in killed and wounded. Many of the officers being former residents in Cheltenham, the affair caused great consternation. General Sir Robert Sale, who was killed, resided here before going to India, and Lady Sale (since her captivity in Cabul [Kabul]) had been a resident in the town, and was here when the news arrived of her husband's death. Major F. Somerset, son of Lord and Lady Fitzroy Somerset was also among the killed. Major Somerset had accompanied Lord Ellenborough to India, and behaved with great gallantry during the Sikh campaign."²

The mild climate hardly seems to be a sufficient explanation of why so many who had served in India preferred Cheltenham to other similar places. However, once the "colony" was established, it ensured that others were attracted and Cheltenham remained an Anglo-Indian centre almost until the present day.

By 1851 the population of Cheltenham had risen to 35,000. Officers of the East India Co. and of the army made up 1.5% of the adult male population and annuitants and "independent gentlemen" about 2%. Women outnumbered men, making up 57% of the total population. Of these, 5% were described as annuitants or "independent gentlewomen". 3,400 female servants and 1000 washerwomen and laundry keepers or 22% of the female population looked after the leisured classes. Male workers also included a large number of servants, gardeners and artisans while 10% of the adult male population was still engaged in building.³

¹Little, B., *Cheltenham*, Batsford 1952, pp. 86-7.

²Golding, J., *op.cit.*, 1863, p.569.

³More, C., *op. cit.*, p.4.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century two noble families had dominated the social scene in Gloucestershire and divided it into factions for generations. These were the Beauforts and the Berkeleys. They continued to be very conspicuous in Cheltenham during this period. Of these, the most notable was William Berkeley, the eldest son of the Fifth Earl of Berkeley. Unfortunately he was unable to inherit the title because of doubts about his legitimacy. Best known in Cheltenham as "the Colonel" he reacted bitterly to this misfortune and "gave loose to the reigns of passion and entered upon a reckless and profligate career."¹ In fact Berkeley was popular with many people in Cheltenham because of his connection with hunting and horse racing and the theatre. In September 1812 Lord Byron spent some time visiting him and attended "the theatricals in which the Colonel, Mrs Siddons, Charles Kemble, Mr and Mrs Liston, and Joe Grimaldi took part."² In 1835 on the death of the Duke of Beaufort, Berkeley became Lord Lieutenant of the County. In 1841 he received an earldom from Queen Victoria and took his seat in the House of Lords as Earl FitzHardinge. Every winter he attended the local meetings of the hunt together with numerous followers. In 1848 on the completion of the fortieth year of his annual visit to Cheltenham he was presented with an address at the Dowdeswell meet. "The report states that there were 3,000 pedestrians and 400 horsemen present, and that the road was, for a considerable distance, lined on both sides with the carriages of the gentry."³ The annual races which began at Cheltenham on Cleeve Hill under the patronage of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester in 1819, were largely due to the initiative of William Berkeley. He gave £1,000 annually

¹From an obituary written in 1857. Quoted in Bell, A., "*Pleasure Town, Cheltenham 1830-60*", Richard Sadler, 1981, p.8.

²Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p. 542

³ibid., p.575.

towards the cost of the three day event which was immensely popular: "A vast number of nobility and gentry attended; and during race week the town was like a continental holiday, owing to the crowds and gaiety which prevailed."

During the first half of the nineteenth century Cheltenham became an Evangelical stronghold, attracting as Clapham had done in a previous generation those who embraced the Evangelical faith and principles. This process began with the appointment of the Rev. Charles Jervis, who was an Evangelical as the perpetual curate as incumbent in 1816. He soon established a number of agencies and auxiliary committees which promoted concern for social and missionary work, particularly amongst members of the upper classes. During the winter of 1816 £400 was collected at the Parish Church for the relief of the indigent poor, following a sermon by Jervis.

"This contribution to the cause of charity has never been surpassed on any occasion in Cheltenham." The collection was made by twelve titled ladies. "Perhaps this may account for its unexampled success."¹

Evangelicalism had an important effect upon social and missionary work. It also changed the attitude of many members of the wealthy classes towards various pleasures which were normally enjoyed by the well to do. For those Evangelical converts, whose lives were now committed to God and transformed by Christ, racegoing, attendance at theatres and other entertainments were regarded as sin. Colonel Berkeley and his large circle of friends symbolised the more dissipated side of life in the spa. They represented a hey-day which was already almost over when "Cheltenham was always fast; there was not anything slow about it - nothing humdrum or over-sanctified. It was never strait-laced and had evidently selected Colonel Berkeley for its King."²

¹Golding, J., op. cit., p.543.

²Berkeley, G.F., "*My Life and Recollections*", Vol.2, 1865, p.166 & 169.

"During Close's incumbency Berkeley and his friends fought a rear-guard action against the spirit of Savonarola as incarnate in Francis Close",¹ which transformed Cheltenham most obviously over the issue of Sunday observance. They "were a last rallying point for some of the more spacious and less prudish jollities of the Regency scene."² But as Close rose to a position of unrivalled leadership and more and more residents accepted his views almost everything Berkeley and his friends did was regarded as wrong. At regular intervals Close and most of the Anglican clergy in the town denounced their activities from the pulpits and in the press. In return Berkeley and the pleasure-seeking fraternity, dubbed their antagonists, particularly Close, John Browne, the Minister of Holy Trinity and a number of retired army officers as "the lieutenant General Close Brigade whose rule they regarded as being nothing less than the slavery of the black coats".³ Apart from religion another source of disagreement was politics. Berkeley was a principled Whig and a prominent supporter of the 1832 Reform Act. Close was a staunch Conservative. They were also on opposite sides during the railway controversy of November 1845.

For thirty-two years Berkeley and Close competed to win the hearts and souls of the residents and visitors with varying success. Libertinism gradually disappeared from the external social scene and it was claimed that, apart from his attitude towards his marriage, Berkeley himself became a reformed character, when he became Lord Lieutenant in 1835.⁴ By that time Close's main concern was the growth of the Roman Catholic Church and the spread of Tractarian ideas within the Church of England.

¹Little, B., op. cit., p.86.

²ibid. p.86.

³Cheltenham Free Press, 25/12/1847

⁴From an obituary written in 1857 quoted in Bell, A., op. cit., p.8.

The underlying cause of his bitter attacks upon the Tractarians was his fear that their views would eventually lead to large numbers of conversions to Rome, fears which seemed to be justified when Newman acknowledged his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845. Cheltenham continued to be a hot bed of religious excitement but the evils of race meetings and theatrical performances became of secondary importance. Even so Evangelical puritanism had a marked effect and the character of Cheltenham changed. The races were discontinued for a while and the theatre was not rebuilt when it burnt down in 1839. However, when Fanny Kemble gave a series of readings from Shakespeare in 1850, most of fashionable Cheltenham went to hear her, despite the counter attraction of a public lecture by Close on "The Tendencies of the Stage, Religious & Moral."¹

After 1845 the number of visitors to the spa declined as sea bathing gradually replaced "taking the waters" as the most popular middle class leisure activity. The economy of the town began to depend more upon the schools and colleges, which had been founded by Close, than upon the attractions and entertainments of the spa. In 1856 Hadley's Guide estimated that Cheltenham College (f1841) "causes to be expended in the town little short of £150,000 per annum. This estimate is made after due regard to the number of families it causes to reside here for the education of their sons." It went on to calculate that the Grammar School (f 1574 and re-founded in 1852) would also bring between £20,000-£30,000 into the town.²

By 1860 the guide books were even more explicit about the changes which had been brought about mainly during Close's ministry even though he had left Cheltenham four years before. "The town is no longer a fashionable watering place The frivolities once so prevalent here are now more honoured in the breach than

¹Cheltenham Examiner, October 9th 1850. Quoted by Norman's History, op. cit., p.589.

²Quoted in Hart, G., op. cit., p.225.

in the observance Education has also powerfully done its work for good in Cheltenham. The gross and vicious habits of a past generation have fled or died out before the spread of education and intelligence, and a comparatively healthy moral tone now permeates all classes. Occasionally a character of the old stamp may appear on the fashionable horizon but he is carefully avoided and excluded from family circles."¹

Colonel Berkeley's own antagonism towards Close may even have moderated a little towards the end of his ministry in Cheltenham. When Close was made Dean of Carlisle in 1856 a Parish meeting was held on 1st November at which he was presented with a farewell gift of £1,000. It was noted in the press that Berkeley, now Lord Fitzhardinge had contributed a generous £25 towards this sum!²

A month later Close was presented with an illuminated address from his parishioners and friends which contained this warm assessment of his character: "We would express our admiration of the astonishing energy of your character and the attractive geniality of your temperament and we believe that many, who at a distance may have viewed your opinions with suspicion and distrust would if brought in personal communication with yourself, have entertained very different sentiments towards you."³

Cheltenham was an interesting and unusual place during the early part of the nineteenth century, indeed it was no ordinary town. Whilst it developed rapidly as a provincial centre it remained in many ways a parochial, almost insular town. It was exclusive, social class divisions were very sharp and industry was absent. At the same

¹Quoted in Hart, G., op. cit., p.225.

²Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p.5.

³Address from his parishioners and friends to the Very Reverend Francis Close, Dean of Carlisle. Presented 3rd December 1856.

time because it was patronised by royalty and high society it maintained an important place in the mainstream of Regency and early Victorian society. Almost everyone who was of consequence in London would be found in Cheltenham during "the season." Religious and educational controversy and endeavour flourished in this background.

For thirty years between 1826-56 these ideas and endeavours were dominated by the Rev. Francis Close, incumbent of the parish. A history of Cheltenham during this period would make an interesting case study of how one person could become so influential in a particular area. "In fact his history and the history of the town are one."¹ Such a study would have to take account of the background, for example the pre-occupation which the Victorians had with religion, the large cohort of single women with private means who lived in Cheltenham and who flocked to his services and who supported him. With him they helped to change the character of the town and turned it into a very important educational centre. The schools and colleges which were founded at that time provided models for the public and private systems of education which developed into national systems much later. Such a study would also have to take into account Close's "astonishing energy" his beliefs and his character. To many he was an attractive and genial person who inspired those who admired and loved him to great efforts on behalf of worthy causes. To others he was quite the opposite, a bigoted despot "who impressed his inquisitorial control of Cheltenham life" and tried to confine all aspects of the social and religious life into an Evangelical "strait-jacket."²

This thesis argues that the Cheltenham Training College for teachers was founded by Close as a result of his religious beliefs and personality and the situation

¹*Cheltenham Free Press*, 23rd December 1882, p.2.

²Ashten, O.R., *"Racialism and Chartism in Gloucestershire 1832-1847"*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham 1980.

which he had helped to create in Cheltenham by 1845. The next part will examine his career and complex personality.

PART THREE

Who Was The Rev. Francis Close (1797-1882)?

Francis Close was born in Corston, Bath on 11th July 1797. He was the youngest of nine children and the fourth son born to the Rev. Henry Jackson (1753-1806), rector of Hitcham, Suffolk, a distinguished writer on agriculture. When his father died in 1806 Close's elder brother, John Margeram Close (1780-1857) became his guardian. Francis was sent away from home to be educated at Midhurst Grammar School, Sussex, where he remained for two years. In August 1808 he was admitted to Merchant Taylors' School. Close records that when he left this school in 1812 he knew "..... little or nothing of the subjects then professed to be taught there. Whether this was the fault of the school or the scholar it behoves me not to say."¹

Between 1812 and 1816 Close was the private pupil of John Scott (1777-1834), the Evangelical master of Hull Grammar School. Scott provided his pupils with the necessary foundation for their studies at a university. It was during this period that Close was converted to faith in Christ. The conversion took place in 1813 when he was fifteen years old.²

Apart from Scott several other factors may have played a part in converting Close to Evangelicalism at this time. His own family was not Evangelical. Close Records that four elder sisters were much prejudiced against his religious views³. However, his elder brother and guardian, John Margeram Close had been converted to Evangelicalism during confirmation preparation by Robert Storry (1751-1814) who

¹Close F. *Autobiography*, p.4. Quoted in Munden A.F. *The Church of England in Cheltenham (1826-1856), With Particular Reference to the Rev. Francis Close*. Unpublished B. Litt. thesis, Birmingham University, 1980, p. 16.

² Close, F. *ibid.*, p.16.

³Close F. *ibid.* p.5.

was Vicar of St. Peter's church, Colchester (1781-1814). John Margeram's career was in the artillery. He rose to the rank of major in 1813. His conversion must have taken place before 1807 because he became the Secretary of the British Naval and Military Bible Society (f 1780) in that year, a post which he held until 1832. As a result of his work for this society, John Margeram came to know many of the leading evangelicals of that period including William Wilberforce, Charles Simeon and Bishop Ryder. It was probably due to John Margeram's influence that Francis Close began to support the Church Missionary Society (he attended his first C.M.S. meeting in Hull in 1815); also that he heard a number of powerful dissenting Evangelical preachers during his early youth. These included Roland Hill (1744-1833) at Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars London, and William Jay (1769-1857) at Argyle Independent Chapel, Bath. Munden suggests that these circumstances, when taken together may be seen as having been instrumental in Close's conversion¹. Also Robert Storry who converted John Margeram had himself been educated at Hull and had kept in touch with the work which was going on there. It is therefore probable that Francis Close was sent to Hull as a private pupil of Scott on his brother's recommendation.

In October 1816, Francis Close took up residence at St. John's College, Cambridge, graduating with a B.A. in 1820 and an M.A. in 1824. St. John's College was not noted for its Evangelicalism, but Close took with him letters of introduction from his brother John Margeram and John Scott to the Rev. Charles Simeon (1759-1836), vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge (1783-1836) who was one of the great Evangelical leaders of that time.

From his parish, which was situated at the heart of the University, Simeon influenced generations of undergraduates at Cambridge by his example, his sermons

¹Munden A.F. op. cit. p.17.

and sermon classes and above all, by personal contact at weekly conversation parties. In 1790 Simeon began sermon classes for those intending to enter the ministry, and in 1812 he started conversation parties for all members of the University, irrespective of whether or not they were to be ordained¹.

In 1829 he explained: "My own habit is this: I have an open day when all who choose it come to take their tea with me. Everyone is at liberty to ask what questions he will and I give to them the best answer I can. Hence a great variety of subjects come under review - subjects which we could not discuss in the pulpit - and the young will find it a very edifying session²."

Sometimes as many as forty undergraduates were present. As a result, a steady stream of young men who became ordained, went out from Cambridge and tried to put into practice the Evangelical principles which they had learned from Simeon. During his second and third years at the University, Close attended these parties regularly between 6.00pm and 7.00pm, and the fortnightly sermon classes at 8.00pm. In his autobiography Close recalled one of the conversations which he had with Simeon. It concerned the best way to criticize a person starting with praise and leaving the more important home truths to the end³.

In 1863 Abner W. Brown (1800-1874), looked back on these "conversation" parties and tried to assess, "How much or how little of the present religious element has been due to Simeon's influence?"⁴ He did not refer specifically to Cheltenham but pointed out that the young men who had been in contact with Simeon and bore with them some effects of his influence, included members of the bar and prominent

¹Ibid. p.18.

²Carus W. *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon M.A.*, 1847. Quoted in Cowie L.W. *Religion*, Methuen, 1973, p.12.

³Close F. *Autobiography*, pp. 23-4.

⁴Brown A.W. *Recollections of the "Conversation " Parties of the Rev. Charles Simeon M.A.* p.58.

laymen, as well as clergymen and missionaries, who were scattered all over the world.

"To them and to the circles in which they respectively moved in after life, his name stood as a type and watchword of serious religion It is evident that the numbers of educated men in every walk of life and during many years, who had, in some way been under his pulpit or other teaching, must have had a considerable share in forming public opinion..... His opinions were gradually recognised as a school of divinity; his undergraduate friends swelled into the dimensions and definiteness of a party and his religious movement was unconsciously carried forward on all sides."¹

There is no doubt that the influence which Simeon had upon Close during his years at college was profound. Their friendship lasted for twenty years and ended only with Simeon's death. Afterwards, Close referred to him as "a father, a guide and benefactor" and as "an old friend and indeed revered spiritual father." ²

Munden argues that the strength of the relationship between Simeon, the older man, and Close, the young man, was created through their similar temperaments, a strong self confidence, lack of compromise, and above all, a sense of humour.³

It is interesting to note in connection with Simeon's role as a guide and benefactor, that he purchased the advowson of Cheltenham Parish Church in the Autumn of 1816, when Close started as an undergraduate at Cambridge. Ten years later Simeon and his fellow trustees appointed Close to the incumbency of Cheltenham.

After his graduation in 1820, Close married Anne Diana Arden (1791-1877). the third daughter of Rev. John Arden (1752-1803) of Longcroft Hall, Staffordshire. She was the sister of one of his Cambridge friends the Rev. Thomas Arden (1796-

¹Ibid. p.58.

²Close F. *A Brief Sketch of the Character & Last Days of the Rev. Charles Simeon M.A.*, 1836, p.1.

³Munden A.F. op. cit. p.15.

1861). In October 1820 he was ordained Deacon to the curacy of Church Lawford, Warwickshire, by George Henry Law, the Bishop of Chester (1812-1824), and a year later on 7th October 1821 he was ordained Priest by Law in Chester Cathedral. The absentee incumbent of Church Lawford was the Rev. John Marriott (1780-1825), author of the hymn *Thou Whose Almighty Word*, who lived in Exeter for most of the time. Though not an Evangelical, he had friends who were, including John Thornton. Close was allowed to develop his own style of ministry on the model provided by Simeon.¹

In 1822, Close moved from Church Lawford to become assistant curate at Willesden and Kingsbury, Middlesex, which were then small rural centres outside London. This move was instigated by his brother John Margeram who lived at the nearby village of Kilburn from 1822-1830. Dr. Henry Fly (1744-1833) the incumbent who was then seventy-eight, lived in Willesden. Close lived in Kingsbury, which virtually became his parish. During his ministry there he gained direct experience of providing education for his parishioners. Unlike Church Lawford and Willesden, there was no school at Kingsbury. Close quickly opened a day school and Sunday school for boys and girls "in two inconvenient rooms." During the next year he secured a site from All Souls College, Oxford, which owned the manor, and raised £153, including a grant from the National Society. The building was completed by September 1823 and for the rest of his time in the parish, Close took a keen interest in the work of the school, helping the school mistress Amelia Morris "to enforce discipline and punishment of the boys." The experience which he gained from establishing this school in Kingsbury was important for his later work in Cheltenham.

One of Close's parishioners was William Taylor Morey, who was at that time,

¹Ibid. p.23.

Chairman of the East India Company and president of twenty Evangelical societies.¹ One of his sons, Charles Forbes Septimus Morey, later became Close's curate at Cheltenham Parish Church (1845-6).

Living on the outskirts of London made it possible for Close to become involved with Evangelicals in the capital. He became a committee member of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (f. 1809) and kept in touch with various contemporaries from Cambridge, who had also been influenced by Simeon. Amongst these was John William Cunningham, also from St. John's College, who encouraged him to move to Cheltenham, when he was offered the curacy of Holy Trinity Church by the Simeon trustees in 1824.

Cheltenham and the Simeon Trust

Simeon extended his influence throughout the country by carefully training those men at Cambridge, who were destined for the ministry, at a time when commitment to religion was not necessarily a priority in the selection of ordination candidates. The training included pastoral oversight, which in some cases was more important than his sermon classes. In this way Simeon identified individuals whom he considered would become leading characters in the Evangelical movement within the Church of England. These men were then sent out, either as missionaries overseas or appointed to livings, which Simeon had purchased in various parts of the country.

Simeon was not the first Evangelical to purchase the patronage of livings. William Legg, the second Earl of Dartmouth, a convert of Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, had "bought up nearly a dozen livings."²

¹Ibid. p.23.

²Ballaine G.R. *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*. 1951, p.46.

John Thornton (1720-1790), a member of the Clapham Sect, purchased nine livings. In his will he nominated Simeon as a trustee. It was this experience which lead Simeon to spend large sums of money on the purchase of livings in towns which he regarded as important. These included fashionable watering places like Cheltenham, Bath and Bridlington and industrial centres such as Northampton, Birmingham and Bradford. His aim was to ensure that the trustees would always appoint "God's instruments for good to the people of the parishes committed to us", who would confer "the greatest possible good in the souls of our fellow creatures."¹

For him the objective was "of incalculable importance. The securing of a faithful ministry in influential places would justify any outlay of money that would be expended on it." (The Rev. Charles Simeon to Mr. J 8th August 1836).² He believed that by filling important livings with faithful ministers, the progress of dissent would be halted, making further church reform unnecessary.³

Between 1816 and 1836, Simeon acquired twenty-one livings, many of which became available after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act 1835. Under this Act, corporations were obliged to dispose of livings which had been in their gift. His finances came from his own income, gifts and appeals.

Simeon purchased Cheltenham from Joseph Pitt (1759-1842), the landowner and speculative builder, in 1816, one year before his trust was set up. In his opinion the purchase was especially important. Evangelicalism was already quite strong in the town.

The first collection for the Church Missionary Society was taken in Cheltenham in 1818. Between 1820-22 Simeon preached an annual sermon in

¹Pollard A. & Hennell M. (eds.) *Charles Simeon 1759-1836*, 1951, p.36.

²Smythe C. *Simeon and Church Order*, Cambridge U.P., 1940, p.201

³Carus W. op. cit. p.752.

support of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, which raised a total of over £270. Also Jervis, an Evangelical, had just been appointed to the parish by Pitt. Simeon reported to Isaac Milner in 1816:

"Cheltenham, where there are ten thousand souls besides ten thousand visitors, or nearly so, is mine. It was to be sold for three thousand pounds and I instantly secured it, and the Lord has raised up friends to concur with me and the burden is light."¹

In 1836, only a few months before his death, Simeon spent eight weeks visiting some of the churches which were under the patronage of the Simeon Trust. At that time, Close had only been the incumbent of the Parish Church in Cheltenham for ten years, but it is clear that he had already made a deep impression upon the inhabitants. Simeon commented:

"Truly at Cheltenham I had almost a heaven upon earth."²

This estimate must have been based upon the quality of the ministers, whom he met, the congregations at the Parish Church and Holy Trinity Church where he preached, and the churches and schools which he visited. On his return to Cambridge he wrote:-

"If I had never done more than purchase Cheltenham, I should be already repaid for all the pains I have taken and all the labours I have expended."³

¹Milner, M., *The Life of Isaac Milner* D.D. F.R.S., 1842, p. 635-6.

²Carus, W., 1847. op. cit. p. 784

³Smythe, C., 1940. op. cit. p. 203.

The Rev. Francis Close at Cheltenham (1824 - November 1856)

In 1824 the Simeon Trustees offered the curacy of Holy Trinity Church, Cheltenham to Close. This was a new church, which had been built by the Rev. Charles Jervis, to ease the strain imposed on the Parish Church by the increase of the towns population. As a proprietary church, it was financed to a large extent by the sale of shares in the proceeds of pew rents. The curacy was the gift of the Simeon Trustees, because Holy Trinity was a subsidiary to the Parish Church. Later on, this patronage applied to five more churches, which were subsequently built in the town between 1829-1854.

When Close accepted this curacy, he was twenty-seven years old and was described as "a fresh, vigorous and handsome young man." He at once threw himself into every aspect of his work with the ability and zeal which were to become characteristic of his long ministry in Cheltenham. He remained only two years at Holy Trinity, but during that time he quickly gained a reputation as a preacher, giving "polished and truly evangelical discourses."

Much of his responsibility as curate of Holy Trinity was for the district south of the High Street, which included the hamlet of Alstone, about half a mile west of the Parish Church. Close was concerned for the poor who lived in this area because there was no school. As at Kingsbury, he quickly opened a Sunday school in temporary premises. This time it was in an old farm house. Soon afterwards he began to raise money for a permanent building. In 1826 he approached the Rev. William Wilson and Joseph Wilson, who were visiting the town to ask for a donation. The Wilsons, who were both Simeon Trustees and members of the Clapham Sect, agreed

to give £20 each towards the building fund, on condition that the school room was used as an infant school on weekdays. This was the beginning of the infant school movement in Cheltenham. Joseph Wilson had been a member of the committee which established James Buchanan as Superintendent at Brewers Green School, London, in 1819. James Buchanan had previously been in charge of Robert Owen's infant school at New Lanark. Two years later, Joseph Wilson had opened his own infant school at Spitalfields and had engaged Samuel Wilderspin and his wife as teachers.

At first, Close had some doubts about the value of education for infants, but these were quickly dispelled when he read Joseph Wilson's copy of the book which Wilderspin had published only the year before. This book was entitled "Infant Education or remarks on the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor", and was published in 1825.¹ From then on Close became an enthusiastic supporter of the infant school movement. In 1829 he said that he had no doubt that the system must become universal.²

In 1832 he declared, "We believe that the Infant System is the best which has yet been devised for correcting the infant heart and guiding it in the ways of peace."³

The infant school at Alstone was opened in 1827 and Samuel Wilderspin stayed in Cheltenham for some weeks, to instruct the two mistresses in his methods. This event took place soon after Close had been appointed as the incumbent of the Parish Church, but he carried out all of the work of establishing and raising money for the school, whilst he was the curate of Holy Trinity. In this way, Francis Close began to establish his reputation as an educator, and he laid the foundation for the

¹Cheltenham Journal 18/6/1829

²Ibid.

³Close F., *Sermons by the Rev. F. Close.*, Vol 11, Hubbard & Son, London, 1846, p.5.

remarkable expansion of the town's schools, which took place during his ministry, an expansion which met the needs of all areas and all social classes within the community.

In 1826 the Rev. Charles Jervis died suddenly and Close was invited to become the perpetual curate (or in other words, the vicar) of the Parish Church. As such he was also appointed Chairman of the Vestry Committee at a time when many of the tasks which later became the business of the town council were carried out by the Vestry Committee.¹ Bell points out, "There can be no question of the authority he gained in the town"

For the next thirty years he occupied a unique position of influence and authority which only ended when he was appointed Dean of Carlisle in 1856.

Close in Cheltenham. How he dominated the town.

Munden points out that a number of factors made Cheltenham the model for Simeonite Evangelicalism at that time "with Francis Close as its undisputed leader."

First, Close was the incumbent of the whole town and during his period of residence, the population of the town increased from 13,396 in 1821 to 35,051 in 1851. As the town expanded, he extended his ministry by founding schools and churches to meet the needs of all social classes. Second, Close had the advantage of following Jervis as incumbent. Cheltenham already had a well established Evangelical ministry before Simeon purchased the living.

Several auxiliary committees of Evangelical Societies which already existed there ensured that there would be a group of people who would support similar

¹Bell, A., *Pleasure Town, Cheltenham 1830-60*, Richard Sadler 1981, p. 20.

causes in the future. It was an advantage for Close to follow Charles Jervis as incumbent especially after two years as curate of Holy Trinity. He was able to ensure continuity of the same theological ideas and to make use of the knowledge which he had gained of the local inhabitants. Third, Close exercised his ministry to all social classes: "He was the intimate of the wealthy and the champion of the poor."¹

Some idea of the way in which he dominated almost everything in Cheltenham at that time may be gained from an article entitled "The Church-goer In Cheltenham." This first appeared in the "Bristol Times" and was reprinted in the "Cheltenham Chronicle" and "Gloucester Advertiser" (6th August 1846). The author describes him as ... "the man of Cheltenham" and continues, "He is the genius of the place; nothing is begun without him - indeed, he generally begins everything himself; nothing is concluded without him - his consent alone gives the finishing stroke. From Pittville to Montpellier he "doth bestride the narrow world like a colossus," ... Is there a public meeting, the Rev. Francis Close is in the chair; is there a public topic, the Rev. Francis Close is on the platform; is there a meeting about rail roads, there you find the Rev. Francis Close, mightier than the spirit of locomotion itself."

The poet Tennyson, who lived in Cheltenham between 1846 and 1850, was responsible for calling Close "the Pope of Cheltenham" - a phrase which was used in "The Times" obituary 1882. Munden however insists that "a more realistic estimation of Close was that the history of the town for all that period (ie the first half of the nineteenth century) was the history of a single clergyman the reign of the Rev. Francis - what may be called the Close season extended from 1826-1856."²

Close's influence was so widespread that Rowe, the author of "The Illustrated Cheltenham Guide" (1845), felt obliged to point out that "theology has now become

¹Munden, A.F., op. cit. p. 5.

²Ibid. p. 32.

so necessary as part of polite education."¹ Whilst a Presbyterian Scottish visitor wrote in 1837 that "the Sabbath was better kept in Cheltenham than anywhere else in Britain."

Bell describes Close's success in Cheltenham as "phenomenal." He suggests that this was due to the appeal which he made to the society of propertied and property minded people, who flocked to the Parish Church. Here the eloquence of his preaching and his considerable personal magnetism built up a vast congregation. The church was always packed.

Bell goes on to say:

"It is as if he offered them consols on the market of spiritual investment, so that when they bought they were assured of their future."²

The extent to which Close built up a personal following in the town is confirmed by Bouch who wrote about the reputation which preceded him when he was appointed Dean of Carlisle in 1856.

"He had previously been vicar of Cheltenham, where his ministry was so blessed that he is said to have received more than 1,500 pairs of embroidered slippers from his female admirers."³

There can be no question as to the influence and authority wielded by Close in Cheltenham during the thirty years from 1826-56. Whilst the factors mentioned by Munden made his success more likely, Close's personality and zeal were even more important. The dominant position which he achieved in Cheltenham was to a large extent the result of his own determination and hard work. On several occasions Close

¹Rowe, G., 1845, *The Illustrated Cheltenham Guide*. Republished by S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1969, p. 41.

²Bell, A., 1981, op. cit. p. 18.

³Bouch, C.M.L., *Prelates & People of the Lake Counties*. Titus Wilson & Sons Ltd., Kendal, 1948, p. 426.

was obliged to retire to the country because of illness, which was probably brought on by overwork.

The areas in which he excelled and to which he devoted most of his energy were his preaching, his organising ability and his uncompromising vehemence, when involved in controversy. These will now be examined in turn.

Close as a Preacher

An anonymous writer gave a detailed description of Close's style as a preacher, which is quoted by Bell and Munden. They describe how he would ceremoniously remove his black kid gloves, polish his gold spectacles, open his large bible and glance "at the one sheet of notes on which his skeleton is written."

"Let us pray" - he then prayed a suitable collect, followed by the Lord's Prayer, for the fifth time in the service - "He then very deliberately gives out his text, first to the right, then to the left; for the pulpit is in a very awkward place for the preacher, for there are people to the right of him, people to the left of him, people in front of him, people behind him." "Mr Close with his glasses dangling from his right hand, and with his head thrown back, and his eyes looking straight at the people, begins in a very quiet, easy natural voice, to talk to them about the text ... His tone and manner in the pulpit were very much what they would be in the street, or in his own home, if he were conversing with you on any ordinary worldly subject ... His voice is very agreeable to the ear, for there is not a note of the well known sermonic tone about it ... his gradually warming manner seems to say 'This is going to be a very important and interesting subject, and I want every one of you to be as interested in it as I am'. Then, having explained the context, and the circumstances of the text, and opened its general meaning, he lifts his glasses to his eyes, and, as he looks at his notes, he tells

you what are the divisions under which he is going to treat his subject ... With glasses still in his right hand, and now pointing them into his left, he expounds the whole subject with much lucidity and force, and then begins to impress it. This may be under each head, or it may not; but this is where he particularly shines. The glasses are now dropped onto his ample chest, or tucked into his cassock-band, and he stands back with his hands clasped before him, or with the fingers of his right hand beating into the palm of his left. Presently he bends forward over the pulpit cushion, with the left hand on it and the right hand over it, and sometimes vice versa; while, again, both are clasped low down over it, as though he wanted to come down into the very pews and beseech you to be reconciled to God. It was then that his voice would display all its pathos, and sometimes break, as it were, in tears, till, whether you liked it or not, you were bound to feel what he was saying."¹

Many of Close's sermons were printed and widely circulated. In this way he contributed to the religious controversies of the day and acquired a reputation locally and nationally. Study of these printed sermons shows that he took great pains over them. He believed that structured sermons, which were well prepared, were the best way of communicating his own ideas about the real meaning of the scriptures and divine truth.

"There must be in every sermon a commencement, that is an introduction. The body of the discourse must contain elucidation or discussion as an exposition and towards the close there should be some special appeal to the heart and conscience, that is an application."²

His printed sermons are full of headings, sub-headings and illustrations from the Bible, the Prayer Book, and contemporary happenings in Cheltenham and the

¹Anon., *The Golden Decade of a Favoured Town*, 1884, p. 43.

²Close, F., *Composition of a Sermon*, p. 16.

world in general. He used simple words which all could understand and delivered his message of salvation and redemption with conviction.

In all of this he owed a great debt to Simeon's teaching at Cambridge and to his "*Horae Homileticae*" with which Simeon was anxious "to raise the tone of preaching throughout the land", which would promote a candid, liberal and consistent mode of explaining the Scriptures."¹ His *Horae Homileticae* contained skeleton outlines of 2,536 sermons. These were intended to be used by younger clergy as a framework from which their own sermons could be produced. Since they were only outlines they allowed for a great deal of interpretation by each individual. Close relates in his biography how William Wilberforce once heard him preach when he was curate at Willesden in 1823 and how he later made the comment that the sermon was not his own but "a sketch of Mr. Simeon's." Close replied, "No Sir, it was my own, but I am an old pupil of Mr. Simeon to whose sermon lectures I am greatly indebted." "I dare say you are so", said he, "and if you persevere in that style of sermon making and sermon preaching you must arrive at some distinction in that line."²

Close himself wrote several publications, which were intended to help younger clergy in the preparation of their sermons. These included "Eighty Sketches of Sermons Together with an Introductory Essay" which was published in 1861. Although this book was very similar to Simeon's "*Horae Homileticae*" on a small scale, Close did not acknowledge his debt to his old tutor. Munden however justifies the omission on the grounds that by that time the method of preparation and the structures suggested by Simeon were so familiar to Close that they had become a part of himself.³

¹Carus, W., 1847, op. cit. p. 719.

²Close, F., Autobiography, p. 19-20.

³Munden, A.F. op. cit. p. 69.

Close's success and popularity as a preacher built up a vast congregation. Rowe's description of the Parish Church in 1845 gives some idea of the overcrowding which occurred.

"Walking through the West door to the interior it at once strikes us how every available corner has been made use of to provide seating room. It is estimated that the church affords sitting accommodation for about 1,500 persons and that as many as 500 often crowd the aisles during divine service."¹

Conditions were sometimes appalling and the heat was intense, people fainted and occupants were so anxious to obtain seats that on at least two occasions they came to blows over their rights!²

A day of national humiliation and prayer following a cholera epidemic was held on September 25th, 1849,

"At the Parish Church in the evening, it was intended to sing the Vesper Hymn at the conclusion of the service, but on the organist attempting to perform the air it was found that the heat was so intense that the organ could not be made to sound. Not only was every corner within the church crowded to suffocation but crowds were congregated around the doors and windows."³

When Close returned to Cheltenham and preached for the first time following a serious illness which had put his life in danger, the church was packed.

"In the evening every part of the church was crowded by anxious listeners. The throng extended into the porches at each of the principal entrances and many who could not obtain even standing room were obliged at last to go away disappointed."⁴

¹Rowe, G., 1845, op. cit. p. 41.

²*Cheltenham Journal* 25/2/1850, p. 4 and 11/3/1850, p. 2.

³Golding J, 1863, Longman's Green, p. 583.

⁴*The Examiner* 17/10/1849

As a result of his success and popularity as a preacher, Close was able to raise large sums of money from church collections. For example in 1843 £1,240-6s-11d was collected at the Parish Church, of which £350 was given to missionary work overseas.¹ On 11th April 1855, the voluntary Easter offerings collected as a gift for Close himself were stated in "The Examiner" to amount to nearly £500!² At that time his fixed income as perpetual curate was only £40 per year, though this was augmented by pew rents.

On September 7th 1849, when he returned to Cheltenham after his Summer holiday, he was met by a deputation of his parishioners who "presented him with an address and the sum of £500 to clear off a debt, for which he had become personally liable in reference to the completion of the Training College.³ Throughout his ministry, therefore, Close knew that he could rely upon his congregation to give valuable financial support to those causes and societies which he wished to promote. For many of these causes annual services and collections were held. Even larger sums were collected by the numerous benevolent, educational and religious societies in the town. Close supported these societies by acting as chairman, by speaking on their behalf at meetings and services in many parts of the country and by encouraging his parishioners and numerous friends in the town to give their active support. In 1843 he pointed out that there were so many religious societies in Cheltenham, that on average there were annual general meetings once a fortnight and that "as the parish incumbent he was obliged to attend all."⁴

For example, in October 1844 there were four such annual general meetings,

¹*The Cheltenham Journal*, 16/12/1844, p. 4.

²Golding J, 1863, op. cit. p. 595.

³Ibid. p.581-2.

⁴*Cheltenham Journal*, 9/10/1843, p. 2.

at three of which he acted as chairman. These were the Cheltenham auxiliaries of the Church Missionary Society (19/10/44), the London Hibernian Society for Church of England Education in Ireland (21/10/44) and the Society for the Conversion of Jews to Christianity (26/10/44). He persuaded the Rev. C.H. Bromby (whom Close had appointed as vicar of St Paul's Church and who later became the first Principal of the Training College 1847-64) to act as a substitute for him at the A.G.M. of the Moravian Missionary Society on 28th October 1844.¹

Close gave his whole-hearted support to missionary societies abroad and to philanthropic work at home, though as a general principle he believed that more money should be collected for work in Britain than for overseas. The overseas and home missions which he supported most consistently were "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East" (f. 1799), "The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews" (f. 1809) and "The Church Pastoral Aid Society" (f. 1836). These were all societies which had been founded and were run by Evangelicals. Close supported the Church Missionary Society from 1812 and had attended his first committee meeting in Hull in 1815. In addition to supporting C.M.S. in Cheltenham, where annual collections were made for the society at the Parish Church from 1832, he became a regular speaker at their annual general meetings in Exeter Hall, London from 1839-67.²

He joined "The London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews" when he was a curate at Willesden and Kingsbury in 1822, and helped Jervis to found an auxiliary of this society in Cheltenham in 1824. The Church Pastoral Aid Society was founded by members of the C.M.S. in February 1836. Three months later the auxiliary society which had been set up in Cheltenham had fifty-five members, who

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, 11/11/1844

²Munden, A.F., 1980, op. cit. p. 83.

subscribed over £100. to the society. By the following year the annual subscriptions and donations from Cheltenham amounted to £247-9s-6d, which was a much larger sum than that received from any of the other twenty auxiliary societies in the country.¹ C.P.A.S. supported clergy and lay workers as scripture readers and district visitors whom it trained to assist clergymen who were overwhelmed with work because of the size of their parishes. This was particularly the case in overseas missions. Close commended C.P.A.S. as "a truly Protestant society." It imposed an Evangelical test of orthodoxy upon its trainees and, "If any of her servants fail in this she simply withdraws her pecuniary support - did she do otherwise she would be faithless to her sacred trust and to those subscribers who support her."²

In 1847 the religious tests, which the Church Pastoral Aid Society applied to its trainees, provided Close with a model for similar tests, which were given to the students before they were admitted to the Training Institutions in Cheltenham.

Close also supported the Religious Tract Society (f. 1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (f. 1804). These were interdenominational societies, which had been established as the result of Evangelical initiative, but Non-Conformists were allowed to participate equally.

The Cheltenham auxiliary of the R.T.S. was founded in 1825 with Close as a committee member. Speaking at the annual meeting of this auxiliary society in 1844 he said:

"The object of the society is obvious; it is a tract and book society; and altogether I value this society for the many tracts and books it circulates ... I am glad of any opportunity when Churchmen and Dissenters can meet together, fully agreed

¹Ibid. p. 88.

²Close, F., *Footsteps*, p. 142.

upon that one point, the saving character of the gospel."¹

From the age of 17, Close had collected for "The British and Foreign Bible Society" and he supported both the Cheltenham auxiliary society and attended annual general meetings in London. In 1825 he travelled in a coach from Cheltenham to Tewkesbury to attend a meeting of the society in the company of ministers from nearly all of the dissenting chapels in Cheltenham. Two years later Close reported with approval that the Dissenters gave a great deal of support to the society in Cheltenham, where dissenting ministers outnumbered the Church of England clergy two to one at meetings.²

Close's Organizing Ability. The Provision of Churches and Schools.

Bryan Little describes the period from about 1830 to the middle of the century as "Cheltenham's great phase of architectural fulfilment and social change."³

Many of the buildings, which date from that period are a testimony to Close's ability to organise, support and finance for projects which he wished to promote. These confirm the churchgoer's views, already noted that, "Nothing is begun without him - indeed he generally begins everything himself; nothing is concluded without him - his consent alone gives the finishing stroke."⁴

As the town grew, Close founded churches and schools to meet the increasing needs of all classes. He was involved in the establishment of schools from 1820. In new districts schools were always provided first and were licensed for worship, before

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, 23/12/1844, p. 4.

²B.F.B.S. archives, letter from Close to J. Tarn, 13/6/1827, Quoted by Munden, A.F., 1980, op. cit. p. 90.

³Little, B., *Cheltenham*, Batsford, p. 86.

⁴See above p. 30.

the churches were built. For example, in the St. Peter's area services were held in the infant school room from 1844, five years before the church was consecrated and the National School in the Bath Road was licensed for worship eleven years before St. Luke's Church was built. However, between 1826-1854, Close was responsible for the erection of five churches.

As a result, the religious census of 1851 reported that the town was one of the most impressive places in terms of church provision.¹ Two churches, St. John's and St. James's which were both consecrated in 1829 were proprietary churches, which were built to serve the wealthy middle class. These were financed to a large extent by investment based on the promised income from pew rents. By contrast, St. Paul's church, which was built at the instigation of Close, was known as the free church where the poor could be certain of finding a welcome. A free church committee was formed in May 1827 with Close as chairman, following a public meeting at Sheldon's Hotel. Altogether, this committee raised £3,500 by voluntary subscription and obtained a grant of £3,000 from the Government.²

The church, which seated 1,800 people and provided 1,200 free places, was consecrated on 12th July 1831 as a chapel of ease for the Parish Church. It remained directly under Close's supervision until 1846 when St. Paul's became a separate church district. C.H. Bromby, the vicar of St. Paul's (1843-64) became the first Principal of the Training College (1847-64). Between 1845 and 1910, the church was used by the staff and students of the training college for compulsory worship in return for an annual payment which was categorized as pew rents. For example, in 1850 this amounted to £36 and 5 shillings and in 1860 was £94 and one shilling.

¹Ashten, O.A., *Clerical Control and Radical Responses in Cheltenham Spa 1838-1848*. Midland History Vol. VIII, 1983, p. 125.

²Hart, G., *A History of Cheltenham*, Leicester U.P., 1965, p. 184.

In 1840 the largest of the proprietary churches, with seating for 2075 people, 485 of which were free, was consecrated. This was Christchurch which was financed by 160 proprietary shares at £105 each, together with subscriptions and donations amounting to a total cost of £18,111-15s-7d. This was a favourite church with Close, who laid the foundation stone and the highest stone in the spire. It was built next door to The Grange where he lived from 1839-56.

St. Peter's Church, consecrated in 1849, was built in a poor district of the town. It provided 1050 seats, 700 of which were free, and cost £4,651. This was a controversial church because of its architectural style, which was described as Normanesque. It was designed by S. W. Daukes, a local architect, who was later responsible for the design of the Training School for Men which was built in 1849. St. Peter's Church was built to resemble the Round Church at Cambridge. This design was approved by the committee of the Church extension fund (of which Close was a member) in order to challenge High Church views about architecture, which were held by the supporters of the Cambridge Camden Society. Members of the Camden Society, who were known as Ecclesiologists, favoured the decorated style of architecture, because it expressed Catholic symbolism. They had a great deal of influence within the National Church Building Society and the diocesan building societies. The Church Extension Fund had been established by Evangelicals, within the Church of England, to counter their influence. Conflict between the two groups had come to a head over the restoration of the Round Church at Cambridge between 1841-43, when several cases were fought in the ecclesiastical courts. In these cases the Evangelicals, led by Close attacked the restoration work, which the Cambridge Camden Society had carried out on the grounds that it "taught Romanism." On 5th November 1844 Close launched a powerful attack on the Ecclesiologists, whom he considered were using church restoration to reintroduce

Roman Catholic ideas. This sermon was later published as a pamphlet, *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery* (1844). St. Peter's Church, therefore, was more than a church built to meet the needs of an expanding population; it was also a deliberate statement of Close's views about church architecture.¹

St Luke's Church, consecrated in November 1854, was built to serve a densely populated neighbourhood near the Bath Road. Close intended it to be another free church for the poor. It cost £5,397 and seated 1,040 people. Of these seats, half were free. The pew rents from the rest provided the curate's income. Before this services had been held at the National School in Bath Road, which was licensed for worship in 1843. Curates licensed by Close served this area between 1845-54 and were paid by the Church Pastoral Aid Society. This was the last church which was built by Close in Cheltenham.

From the start of his ministry as a curate at Kingsbury in 1822 and at Holy Trinity in 1824-6, Close recognised the need to provide schools for children of the poorer classes. Following the establishment of the first infant school at Alstone in 1827, five more infant schools were opened in the town by 1848. These were The Central Infant School, St James's Square (1828), Exmouth Street School (1834), Waterloo Place School (1836), Sherbourne Street School (1840) and Brunswick Street School (1848). Of these the most important was the Central Infants' School in St. James' Square which opened in temporary premises in 1828. A permanent building designed as a public meeting room for religious and charitable societies which provided education for 350 children was opened on 26th July 1830. Wilderspin described this school as "the best that he knew in England, only surpassed by those

¹Munden, A.F., 1980, op. cit. p. 127-8.

at Glasgow and Edinburgh."¹

Close raised £1,200, for the land and building, which contained a twenty foot wide gallery for unison lessons. There was also a playground equipped with swings and climbing apparatus. Close encouraged visitors to the school between 11 a.m. and 12 noon each day. During the summer months as many as twenty people visited each day. The most distinguished of these was the Grand Duchess Helena of Russia who was so impressed with what she saw during her visit in September 1831, that she expressed a desire to introduce infant education in St. Petersburg.²

Between 1827-1850 the Cheltenham infant schools were administered by a central committee under the chairmanship of Close. Annual collections for these schools were taken at the Parish Church. From 1826, the infants, together with children from the National Schools attended an annual service at one of the churches. During the 1830s as many as 2,000 children would be present and Close would preside at these services. He also conducted the public examinations, which attracted considerable attention. For example, "On Friday last, a public examination of the infant school in this town took place at the Montpellier Rotunda. The company were numerous and highly respectable, and the children, about 150 in number, performed their evolutions in such a way as to give general satisfaction. After they had marched round to their various lessons at the lesson posts and had sung a few tunes, they were then marched into a temporary gallery, erected for the purpose and having been questioned upon what is called the elliptical phase described in Mr. Wilderspin's book and examined as to their knowledge of the Scriptures by our worthy incumbent Mr. Close, they were marched into the adjacent grounds, the master playing the clarinet

¹Platts A. and Hainton G.H., *Education in Gloucestershire: A Short History*, Gloucestershire County Council, L.A. Smart & Son, 1954, p.62.

²*Cheltenham Journal* 19/9/1831

at the head of them, to which they kept the step and sung in admirable time and tune."¹

Soon after its opening the Central School in St. James's Square became a model school for the training of teachers. Between 1833-1847, 152 infant school teachers left the Central School after having been taught the system.² In 1850 the central committee for the six infant schools was disbanded and each district church became responsible for its own schools. By that time there were 1,043 infants at school in the town.

In 1836 Evangelicals from the Anglican and Nonconformist churches founded "The Home and Colonial Infant and Juvenile Society", which led to the opening of the training institution for infant school teachers in Gray's Inn Road, London. By that time, Close had already been involved in infant education for ten years and was one of the first Evangelicals to develop it on a large scale. Cheltenham had also acquired a reputation as a centre for the training of teachers for infant schools. Moreover, it became the centre for the Infant School Society, because Wilderspin moved to Cheltenham soon after he opened the school at Alstone and made it his headquarters until 1839. During this period his energy and zeal were remarkable. He had been engaged by the society "to go into the country at the request of any Lady or Gentleman, to open schools according to the method now in practice."³

He opened schools all over the country and achieved enormous success as a missionary for infant education. His normal practice was to arouse the necessary enthusiasm at public meetings and then to stay for six weeks to train the teachers.

¹*Cheltenham Journal* 18/6/1829.

²Munden, A.F., op. cit., 1980. p. 172.

³Wilderspin, S., *Infant Education; or remarks on the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor*, W. Simpkin & Marshall, London, 1825, p. 48.

Before leaving he conducted a public examination of the children, such as has been described above. Equipment for these schools, costing £8-10 for 100 children and £10-15 for 200, was supplied from his house in St. George's Road.

Close and Wilderspin disagreed over the appointment of John Rogers, who was an Evangelical, as master of the Central Infants' School and there is no evidence that they co-operated in any way after the foundation of the school at Alstone in 1826. Wilderspin never spoke at a public meeting in the town whilst he was resident there. This may have been because Close dominated the educational scene and they did not agree over religious teaching, perhaps because he was busy elsewhere. A dispute between these two leading advocates of infant education was probably inevitable but it did not arise until October 1837 when Wilderspin had left Cheltenham. This will be explained in a later section.

In 1829 Close said that he had no doubt that the provision of infant schools must become universal.¹ He justified this on spiritual, educational and social grounds:

"We believe that the Infant System is the best which has yet been devised for correcting the infant heart and guiding it in the ways of peace" "The great characteristic feature by which we would have these schools distinguished is this, that they are spiritual and scriptural We assume that these little infants are sinners and we deal with them as such; we tell them of a saviour and of God's love in sending him into the world to die for sinners. We teach them the necessity of being "born again", that they may become God's dear children by adoption and grace and walk in newness of life."²

For Close the aim of all education was to save children from sin: "The unerring

¹*Cheltenham Journal* 18/6/1829.

²Close, F., *Sermons*, Vol. 11, Hubbard & Son, London, 1846, p. 5.

scripture of God declares that we are shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin and that as soon as we are born we go astray."¹ He pointed out that "most of the after habits of life may be traced from manhood to earliest infancy", and declared, "infant schools will be found to be the most effective engine of national improvement that has ever been brought to bear upon a dissolute population Here moral discipline commences, habits of mutual kindness, forbearance and self control are imparted; religious feelings are imbibed and such simple lessons are taught both on religious and general subjects as the infant mind delights to receive."²

However, not all was delight. In a period when child mortality was all too common, pupils at the infants' schools in Cheltenham were taught to sing:

"Children as young as you, as gay

As playful and as strong

Are dying, dying every day

And so may you ere long."³

On educational grounds, Close believed that the infant school system was much better than that provided by dame schools, Sunday schools or the monitrial schools which were run by the National Society (f. 1811) and the British and Foreign School Society (f. 1810). He had no time for those who argued that infants' schools would deprive many who ran dame schools of their livelihood. He was well aware of the unhealthy conditions in which children were confined by the old women who ran these schools, who were often very ignorant. One such school in Gloucestershire was described by an HMI following a visit in 1871: "We found 32 children crammed into

¹Close, F., "Substance of a lecture delivered in the Infants' School Room at Cheltenham, on the occasion of a public examination of the children, together with a report of the funds and general state of the school during the years 1830-31", 1832, p. 2.

²Close, F., "To the friends and supporters of the Sunday and Infant Schools established at Alstone in the Parish of Cheltenham, the following account of their first formation, progress and present success." 1827, p. 7.

³Platts & Hainton, op. cit., 1953, p. 61. (See also page 63).

a room about ten feet square, and so low that even with my hat off I could not stand upright without risking collision between the beams and my head. The atmosphere was unbearable and it is difficult to understand how the children remained healthy."¹

Although Close was a strong supporter of the Sunday School movement and stressed the need for Sunday School teachers in the poorer districts of the town,² he had serious reservations about the Sunday School system itself. He commended the pious and excellent persons who taught in the schools, but knew that most of them were unskilled in the art of teaching and knew little of the scriptures. He believed that a time would eventually come when a good religious education at a week-day school would make Sunday Schools unnecessary for many children. Before that could come about teachers would have to be trained properly. Although he supported the National Schools and was an active member of the Gloucestershire Diocesan Board of Education (f. 1816) from 1836-1848, he was very critical of the monitorial system which was practised at these schools. The teachers were for the most part unqualified and it was wrong for children of twelve to be teaching six year olds. In short, "the monitorial system had utterly failed".³ By contrast the infant school system was vastly superior: "It is far more intellectual, far more philosophical, and far better calculated to convey to the hearts and minds of the children, the stirring truths of the gospel than either of the preceding systems."⁴ (i.e. the Sunday Schools and National Schools).

Close also justified infants' schools on social grounds by suggesting that

¹Mr Bowstead's report on schools in Gloucestershire 1871, C.E. Eyre & Spottiswoode, H.M.S.O. London, 1872, Vol. 1, p. 43-49.

²Close, F., *"To the Teachers in the Various Sunday Schools in Connection with the Parish of Cheltenham"*, 1838, an open letter.

³*Cheltenham Journal*, 31/1/1848.

⁴*ibid.*

attendance would prevent "many moral and physical evils attendant on the present state of infants of the poor."¹ He said, "Assuming that the children learned little should it be considered a trivial benefit to snatch several hundreds of infants from filth and vice and danger moral and physical."² Close however pointed out that when pupils from the Cheltenham infants' schools went on to the National Schools they were "frequently noticed not only for their very great quickness and intelligence, but also for their subordination and good conduct."³

The first National School had been opened in Cheltenham in 1816. This school, which moved to a purpose-built school building in the Bath Road in 1817 was the only National School in the town when Close was appointed as incumbent. Soon after it was opened Dr. Bell, the originator of the Madras system of teaching, inspected the school, which had over three hundred pupils. In 1828 he retired to live in the town, but suffered from ill health and spent much of his time in a state of deep anxiety about the disposal of his fortune. He wanted it to be used to continue the work of his system but was unable to trust anyone.⁴ In 1828 Close founded an extension to the National School in the High Street. By 1850 there were five more National Schools in the town all connected with the district churches. Four of these, Holy Trinity (f 1835), St. Paul's (f 1836), which was used as a model school for the Training Institutions between 1847-54, Christ Church (f 1843), St. Peter's (f 1850 which was a Sunday School only), and St. James's (f 1842), were all established by Close. The day schools were also used as Sunday Schools. They were all accountable to the Cheltenham National & Sunday Schools Committee, which was under the

¹Close, F., To the friends and supporters, 1827, op. cit., p. 7.

²Close, F., "*Sermons*", Vol. II, 1846, op. cit., p. 11.

³Close, F., *Substance of a Lecture*, 1832, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴Salmon D. (ed.), *The Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvement's and Bell's Experiment*, Cambridge University Press, 1932, p. 22.

chairmanship of Close. Only one National School, St. John's (f 1842) was independent. At this church the Rev. Alexander Watson supported the Tractarians. He was also a member of the Cambridge Camden Society and he continued to support the S.P.C.K. when Close broke with it.

School attendance was not compulsory but in general the National Schools in Cheltenham were fed by the infants' schools. The infants' school committee under Close made arrangements for the top classes to be initiated into the Madras system before they moved up at the age of eight. Monitorial schools aroused considerable enthusiasm, particularly in the early years, because they claimed to be efficient and cheap. Undoubtedly they were an improvement on the haphazard instruction and corporal punishment which characterised many private venture schools, and they were the means by which large numbers of poor children were first brought into school.

Although the rival monitorial systems advocated by Joseph Lancaster on behalf of the Nonconformist "British and Foreign School Society", and Dr. Andrew Bell of the Church of England "National Society" differed considerably in matters of detail, they were the same in principle and in the end offered very much the same instruction.¹ Large numbers of children were divided into smaller groups under the tuition of older, more advanced pupils. Groups of thirty were common in National Schools, which adopted the Madras system, groups of seven (standing round lesson posts) in "Lancastrian" schools. Lessons were short, systematic and strictly timetabled, all learning being broken down into simple stages, which were often written on cards for the monitors to read. Almost all of the teaching was mechanical and little attempt was made to ensure understanding. Pupils were rewarded with points, leading to gifts if they remembered their appointed tasks. Both systems aimed to teach the elements

¹Sturt M., *The Education of the People*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967, p.24.

of reading, writing and arithmetic, and sewing for girls. In the best schools constant activity and the principles of emulation and reward removed the necessity for harsh discipline.¹

Although Close recognised the main defects of the monitorial system early in his career, particularly that it was wrong to rely upon children teaching each other, he preferred the Madras system because the groups were larger, pupils could sit down and the smaller number of monitors led to less noise than in the Lancastrian schools.

According to the Educational Commission² which was published in 1849, 1,696 children attended the National Day Schools in Cheltenham. All of these, apart from 139 at St. John's were the responsibility of the Cheltenham National and Sunday School Committee and administered from central funds until 1/1/1850. After that date they, like the infant schools became the responsibility of the district churches apart from a mortgage debt which was owed by St. Paul's school. This was divided equally between the five districts which were controlled by evangelical clergy, ie. St. Mary's, Holy Trinity, St. Paul's, Christ Church and St. James's.

Close's work in founding and supporting six infant schools and five National Schools between 1824-50 might alone be sufficient to qualify him to be considered as one of the most significant Evangelicals to be concerned with education in the nineteenth century. However, he did much more than this.

In 1844, he discovered that he had the right to intervene in the running of the Charity School. For eighteen years he had been aware that the Charity School (f 1713) met every day in a room above the North porch of his own Church. However, as it was administered by the trustees of George Townsend's charity he believed that

¹Birchenough C., gives a full description of both systems in *History of Elementary Education*, University Tutorial Press, London, 1938.

²*Educational Commission 1849*, p.125. quoted in Munden A., p.176

he had no jurisdiction over the school. As soon as he realised that the trustees were his parishioners, he convened a meeting and outlined plans to move the school to a more convenient site and to enlarge it¹. A building fund was started, annual collections were taken at the Parish Church, a site was acquired and plans drawn up. In November 1847 a purpose-built free school costing £789 was opened in Devonshire Street. Because it was not a district school but open to the whole town, it grew rapidly from 39 pupils in 1844 to 275 in 1869.

Cheltenham College was the first large Victorian school to be founded on new lines, that is offering a broad and up to date curriculum and financed by shareholders. Its foundation in 1840 is relevant to this thesis because it shows how Close used his dominant position in the town to gain power and authority within the new College. Although the original proposal did not come from him, the provisional committee recognised from the start that he would have to be involved if their plans were to succeed. It is doubtful, however, whether they anticipated the extent to which he would be involved in the day to day administration for the next 16 years, and the control which he would exercise in order to ensure that the new College carried the Evangelical stamp².

After the swift procedures by which the school was established, the rules, constitution, selection of staff and religious curriculum provide a blueprint for the establishment of the much more controversial Training Institutions for teachers a few years later. It is also interesting to note that several of the founders of the Cheltenham College were also involved in setting up the Training College.

Plans to establish a Proprietary Grammar School in Cheltenham were first discussed at a meeting on 9th November 1840 at Farnley Lodge under the

¹Cheltenham Journal, 19/8/1844

²Munden AF, 1980, op. cit. p.184.

chairmanship of Major General George Swiney. George Simon Harcourt (1797-1868) and James Shrubb Iredell (1793-1872), both military men, were co-founders¹. Harcourt had fought at Waterloo and Iredell had served in the East India Company. At the inaugural meeting they resolved to establish a Proprietary Grammar School, each share costing £10. They resolved that the school should be "conducted strictly in conformity with the principles of the Church of England", and set up a provisional committee consisting of the Rev. S. Middleton, Captain J.S. Iredell, G.S. Harcourt, Mr Fenton Hort and Captain F. Robertson². Captain Robertson who became Secretary of the College was a friend of Close. Two years later his son the Rev. Frederick William Robertson became the assistant curate at Christ Church, Cheltenham (1842-7). Fenton Hort later served on the provisional and executive committee of the training college.

The provisional committee reflects the social background from which the College gained its support. The residential population of Cheltenham included many officers from the army and navy as well as those who had served in the East India Company. Even without Close's advice and help the school was almost bound to succeed because the town contained a large number of gentry who would wish to make use of it. This fact was reflected in the decision to exclude tradesmen, which was made at the first meeting of the provisional committee: "No person should be considered as eligible who shall not be moving in the circle of gentlemen. No retail trader being under any circumstances to be so considered ... No shopkeeper or small trader shall be considered eligible to be a shareholder, nor the son of such a person to be a pupil in the institution." At the second committee meeting the provisional committee resolved to invite the parochial clergy of Cheltenham and its immediate

¹Morgan MC, *Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years*, R Sadler, 1968, p.

²*Ibid.* p.

vicinity to attend their meetings. Close and the Rev. John Browne (1795-1857) were two of the clergy whom the committee approached. They joined two others in becoming Vice Presidents of the College.

Browne was curate of Holy Trinity Church from 1828 until his death in July 1857. He had been appointed by Close and supported him in his work for church extension and education. He was an Irish Evangelical who was born in County Cork and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Like Close, he was an outstandingly good preacher and deeply opposed to the Tractarians. Close and Browne were generally on the same platform at public meetings, they served on the same committees, they were both trustees of schools for the poor and St. Peter's Church. In 1845, he was associated with the foundation of the Training Institutions as a member of the provisional and executive committees.

Close and Browne agreed to assist in the creation of the College so long as: "those religious principles which we valued above all things were secured to the College and were wrought in its constitution." On 26th November 1840, the first meeting of the proposed "Cheltenham Proprietary School" was held under the chairmanship of Close. This meeting established the aims of the College and the way it was run until the constitution was revised in 1862. These religious principles were outlined in the rules: "This Institution is established to provide a sound religious, classical, mathematical and general education of the highest order on moderate terms and in strict conformity with the principles and doctrines of the united Church of England and Ireland."

Munden argues that this religious statement was not specific enough to ensure that the college would retain its Evangelical character for future generations. Certainly it was much broader than the foundation trust document of the Training

Institutions which was drawn up in 1848¹. This emphasised the importance of the Scriptures, the 39 Articles and the Liturgy and stated that these principles must be preserved for ever². (see pages 162-3).

As a result of the meeting on the 26th November the administration of the college was vested in a board of twelve directors. They had extensive powers including the management of all the property, control of finance, appointment of the Principal and Theological Tutor, payment of salaries, regulation of the boarding houses and control of discipline with powers to suspend or expel pupils. By contrast, the Principal, who must be a clergyman, was accountable to the directors but was not allowed to attend their monthly meetings. He was responsible for the appointment and dismissal of staff with the exception of the Theological Tutor. This arrangement, which limited the powers of the Principal, whilst giving them to the board and which, at the same time, prevented him from attending their meetings, led to the resignation of the first principal Alfred Phillips (1802-1880) in 1845. In his opinion "this hitherto flourishing college is in the same vortex of trouble, jealousy, misunderstanding and disunion which has proved destructive to others before it."³

The extent to which Close was responsible for the constitution is a matter of conjecture, but as a vice-chairman of the board it gave him a great deal of control. For example, he prepared most of the annual reports and his speech at the annual speech day and prize giving was certainly as important as that of the headmaster. After 1845, he and Browne were responsible for the selection of a theological tutor to be appointed by the directors on their recommendation. This guaranteed that the

¹Munden AF, op. cit., p.183

² More, C., *The Training of Teachers 1847-1947: A History of the Church Colleges in Cheltenham*, Hambledon Press, London, 1992, p.13.

³Minutes of the Board of the Proprietary College, 27/8/1844.

three theological tutors and their two appointed assistants were all convinced Evangelicals. From January 1854 until he went to Carlisle, he was chairman of the discipline committee. In the early days of the College, before the permanent building was available, Close was also one of the four members of the house committee. At first this committee negotiated to rent Rodney Villa until Close suggested that two large houses in Bayshill Road could be adapted as a school and would provide more space; also that there was a field opposite, which could be used as a playground. By February 1841 the property had been rented and the conversions were carried out before the opening in July.

When a site for the new College building was acquired in 1841, Close was one of the nine trustee shareholders¹. He showed his own confidence in the College by sending his 4 sons to be educated there. His youngest son Charles Samuel (1831-65) entered as soon as it opened. His three older brothers entered in the following January.

Close explained the reason for his interest by saying, "Even if I had taken no part in the founding of the College, if I had never given my assistance in maturing its plans, knowing that three hundred boys were brought into my parish and congregation in one place for the purpose of education, ought not I to have taken a personal interest in their welfare? If it is my duty to attend to the education of the children of the poor, how much more is it my duty to attend to the education of these boys who in future years may be called upon to take influential positions in society²."

For him the most important aspect of the education and welfare of the boys at the school was their religious training. He described this when the new building was opened in the Bath Road in June 1843: "We call it the plain, honest, protestant

¹ Munden, A.F., op.cit. p.188.

²Cheltenham Journal, 20/6/1844

Evangelical religion of the written Church of England. We pledged our integrity, that as far as human wisdom may go, we never would have any master or teacher belonging to this school but such as embraced the religion of the Liturgy, the religion of the Homilies, the creed of the martyred reformers¹."

Close believed that the provision of a theological tutor, whom he and Browne had recommended, guaranteed orthodox Evangelical teaching. The proposal to abolish this post in 1861 was a matter of great concern to him. He pointed out from Carlisle that parents had sent their children to the College from all over the world knowing that it was "a safe shelter alike from the fopperies of Tractarianism and the seductive sophistry of Latitudinarianism. Break up the character of your college, introduce the high church or broad church principles in their full development, and the consequences are easily predicted²."

By that time Nathaniel Woodard, the Tractarian, had founded three schools; these were Lancing, founded originally as Shoreham Grammar School and Collegiate Institute on 1/8/1848 to provide "an education for the upper portion of the middle classes - sons of clergymen and gentlemen of limited means," and Hurstpierpoint, founded as St. John's School on 16/8/1849. This was a "middle school for the sons of tradesmen, farmers, clerks etc." This was followed by Ardingly, originally St. Saviour's School, "a lower school for the sons of small shopkeepers, farmers, mechanics, clerks and others of limited means³."

In 1861 Close was aware of the growing influence of the Tractarians in education for the middle classes and attacked it vehemently. This was not so much the case in 1845. However, in that year the appointment of a principal to succeed

¹Ibid.

²Munden AF, 1980, p.191

³Cowie, L and E, *That One Idea: Nathaniel Woodard and His Schools*, Woodard Corporation, 1991, p.8.

Alfred Phillips gave Close and his supporters an opportunity to ensure that the successful candidate was an Evangelical. The letter from the board to William Dobson (1809-1867) said, "You are probably aware that the principles upon which this college is founded are directly opposed to Tractarianism in all its forms and modifications." Dobson replied "if by opposition to Tractarianism is meant opposition to a system involving doctrines and practices more or less closely allied to Romanism, a system which would introduce practices unknown to or at variance with the spirit of the Reformation, such for instance as bowings to the altar, the use of the cross and other details of the same kind, then I should join in such opposition should circumstances appear to call for it, with perfect readiness¹." This reply satisfied the Directors. Dobson was Principal from 1845-59.

In many ways the foundation of Cheltenham College must have been for Close a necessary precursor to the foundation of the training institutions. Whilst it is true that by 1840 Close had acquired an expertise in establishing schools and organising committees which was quite exceptional, he had not had experience of setting up and controlling a large institution of national importance. His work for Cheltenham College gave him that experience. The speed with which the College was established also provided Close with a valuable lesson which he and the executive committee of "The Church of England Training School Association" (f 1845) applied in 1847. Speed was vital at that time because of the proposed establishment of a Diocesan College in Bristol which was supported by his superiors in the church hierarchy.

As far as Cheltenham College was concerned, the first meeting over which Close presided was held on 26th November 1840, the houses in Bayshill Road were

¹Munden AF, 1980, op. cit., p.184.

rented during the following February and the school opened with 120 pupils, including 50 boarders on 29th July 1841. Later in that year land was acquired, plans were submitted and a permanent building for 300 pupils costing £14,594 (including the land and fittings) was opened on 22nd June 1843.

As a comparison, the Training School Association committee "resumed its labours" on 7th January 1847 after the failure of the attempt to set up the Training School in London. The Rev. C.H. Bromby, curate of St. Paul's Church, was appointed as a temporary Principal on 12th March. After getting support for some time in secret, the committee advertised its intentions on 7th April and the College opened with 5 male students in rented premises on 2nd June.¹ On the same day a department for women opened with six students under the superintendence of a governess, Miss Bedford. "Monson Villa," which had been Close's own home from 1828-39 was rented for this. On 2nd December 1847 the committee offered £900 for a site near Wellington Square and plans were made to build a college to accommodate 60 men at a cost of £9000. By that time over £5000 had been promised to the committee. These building plans were delayed for over a year when Miss Jane Cook, a local resident, offered to donate a six acre site, valued at £2,500, plus a further £500 when building work commenced. The site was not available for work to start until 25th March 1849. Nevertheless the foundation stone was laid on 19th April 1849 and a larger college than originally planned opened to house up to 100 students, the Principal, Vice-Principal and one master on 8th April 1850. It cost £11,700, towards which £4,500 was received from a government building grant.² By that time there were over ninety male and sixty female students in residence.³ Thus the two training institutions were

¹First Annual Report C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.15; Minute Book, p.15.

²*Governor's Minute Book*, April 8th 1850.

³C.H.4/1/3, 1850, p.21.

opened in temporary premises within six months of the Cheltenham Committee resuming its labours and less than two months after they made their plans public. In spite of the delay over the site a permanent building for men was opened almost exactly three years later.

The foundation of these training institutions for teachers will be dealt with in detail in a later section. However, following this comment on the speed with which Close and his committee worked, one should remember that he was very fully involved with this project for a brief period from August until 27th October 1845, when it was handed over to the committee in London and again from 7th January 1847 until after he moved to Carlisle in 1856.

The Rev. Geoffrey Berwick who carried out research on Close when he was assistant curate at St. Stephen's Church, Cheltenham (1936-39)¹ argues that after 1847 "The Training College filled the horizon for Close" and in consequence his influence and possibly his interest in Cheltenham College waned. He also suggests that this might have been due in part to the fact that he was tired and unwell.² It is true that Close was ill in 1854 and had to go away to recuperate and that he was very ill between September and November 1855 as a result of a blister, which he developed whilst rowing on Lake Geneva and which turned septic to such an extent that his life was in danger. Even so, there is little to suggest that Berwick's view is correct. Between 1848-51 when the Training Institutions were expanding, Close was involved in efforts which were successful to revive the ancient Grammar School.³

Cheltenham Grammar School had been founded by Richard Pate of

¹Munden, A.F., 1980, op. cit. p.3.

²Berwick, G.T., "*Close of Cheltenham Parish Pope. A study of the Evangelical background to the Oxford Movement.*" Unpublished typescript in Cheltenham Public Library 1938, p. 25-26.

See also Berwick, G.T. "*Close of Cheltenham, Parish Pope.*" *Theology* Vol. 39, September & October 1939, p. 193-201, 276-285.

³Harper, A. (ed.), *History of Cheltenham Grammar School*, 1856, p.4.

Minsterworth in 1574, and in 1586 the nomination of the headmaster was vested in the name of the president and senior fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who were governors. By the nineteenth century it had declined so that "the school was of little advantage to the neighbourhood." The headmaster frequently had only two or three boys "on the foundation" plus a number of private pupils.¹ This unsatisfactory situation was regularly reviewed by the Cheltenham Vestry Committee but the case which they brought to the Court of Chancery met with no success. However, the death of the headmaster in 1848 and an Act of Parliament "For improving the condition and Extending the benefits of Grammar Schools" (3 & 4 Vic. cap 77) provided the committee with an opportunity to bring about change. The Easter Vestry Meeting in 1848 appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Close "to consider if any and what steps ought now to be taken for improving the condition of Cheltenham Free Grammar School."²

Close led a deputation to Corpus Christi College in February 1849 and a detailed report was published and printed that Easter. This listed the extensive properties which were owned by the foundation and reported that differences between the governors and the vestry were no longer serious.³ As a result, in November 1851 governors of the grammar school acknowledged the failure of their defence in the Chancery Court case, which had lasted altogether for forty years, and announced their intention of providing accommodation for boarding. This was a wise move because the grammar school would have to compete with Cheltenham College. Yearsley's Hotel, next door to the old Elizabethan school house was leased for this purpose. A

¹Bell, A., 1981, op. cit. p. 38.

²Harper, A., 1856, op. cit. p. 5.

³Pates Grammar School, Cheltenham, detailed report of the Committee appointed by the parish, in Vestry assembled on Easter Tuesday 1848, presented by the Committee to the Vestry on Easter Tuesday 1849, and ordered to be printed and circulated, 1849, p. 11.

new headmaster, the Rev. Dr. Edward Humphreys was appointed and the school reopened on 1st May 1852.¹ Humphreys achieved a great deal during his seven years as headmaster. He widened the curriculum and attracted a large number of pupils in spite of competition from the College. Close took an interest in the affairs of the school. He said that he regarded Cheltenham College and Cheltenham Grammar School "as his right hand and his left hand",² and since both institutions were to a large extent his foundations he deplored Humphreys' attitude of petty rivalry towards the College. The new headmaster was not a follower of Close, which suggests that this may account for his appointment by governors who had suffered defeat at the hands of his Vestry Committee.³ However, he accepted Close's offer to hold an annual service for his school at the Parish Church and allowed Close to assist in the religious instruction of the pupils. The first sermon which Close preached at this service on 23rd June 1853 was published.⁴ After the second service, which followed a court case brought by the parents of a boy who had been flogged by the drill master Sergeant Livingstone, Close set the pupils an essay "Obedience and Disobedience, their Causes and Consequences." At the same time he made his own attitude clear: "No-one was more opposed to corporal punishment than himself, indeed he believed it would be generally found that the character of a school was good or bad, exactly in an inverse ratio to the amount of its punishments but he believed that there are some instances wherein it was necessary."⁵

¹Bell, A., 1981, op. cit. p. 38.

²Harper, A., (ed.), 1856, op. cit. p. 43.

³Bell, A., 1981, op. cit. p. 39.

⁴Cheltenham Grammar School founded by Richard Pate Esq 1586. Report on the first annual examination and distribution of prizes, also the substance of a "familiar discourse" delivered to the scholars in accordance with the will of the founder, by the Rev. F. Close AM, incumbent, on 23rd June 1853, Cheltenham 1853.

⁵Harper, A., op. cit. p. 86.

The case against the drill master was dismissed and Humphreys and his school became very popular in Cheltenham. He held a public dinner for Lord John Russell at the school in 1855. However, in 1859 his debts, which amounted to £26,000 were made public when bankruptcy proceedings were started against him. He fled to America taking with him the wife of Dr. Stephen Comyn, one of his own governors, and was later arrested as an undischarged bankrupt in Boston. "No scandal caused a greater frisson, not merely in Cheltenham, but throughout the land".¹

In September 1853 a small group of citizens, amongst whom were the Rev. C.H. Bromby, vicar of St. Paul's and principal of the training college and Bellairs H.M.I. for Gloucestershire resolved to found a proprietary school for girls on the same pattern as Cheltenham College. It was to be financed by the sale of shares at £10 each. The school opened at Cambray House on 13th February 1854, under a principal, Mrs Proctor (1854-58). At first the school was not a great success, but it became famous under Miss Dorothea Beale who was principal from 1858-1906. From the outset Close was asked for his support because the College council felt that "without his name the enterprise was foredoomed to failure."² He refused to become a vice-president but accepted the presidency of the council. However, there is no evidence that he did much more than lend his name to assist the new institution. He was however interested in the education of girls. In 1854 the Central Infants School in St. James's Square was converted into a "juvenile girls' school" for the daughters of "persons in trade and better circumstances," i.e. those who paid £10 and more in rates. At the same time the children of the poor were moved to the old workhouse which was fitted out as a school and later replaced by a new building in Knapp Lane.

¹Bell, A., 1981, op. cit. p. 41.

²Clarke, A.K., *A History of Cheltenham Ladies College 1853-1953*, 1953, p. 30.

Close was active in his support of two other schools for middle class pupils. These were the Cheltenham Diocesan Boys School (f 1839) which was described as "a school of superior character the object of which is to afford the children of the middle classes the opportunity of obtaining a sound commercial and religious education at a moderate charge."¹ The fees were four guineas a year and there were about 100 pupils. A separate girls department of this school was opened in 1841.²

In 1845 Close also gave his active support to the foundation of a second proprietary school. As it was for "the sons of professional men, tradesmen, farmers and others", it was not meant to compete with Cheltenham College. It was to be conducted "strictly upon the principles of the reformation." Shares costing £10 were issued. The school probably closed soon after the revival of the Grammar School in 1852.

In November 1856 Lord Palmerston nominated Close for appointment to the Deanery of Carlisle in succession to Dr. A.C. Tait who had been appointed Bishop of London. Dr. Tait lost five of his daughters, who died of scarlet fever, shortly before his appointment to London. He later became Archbishop of Canterbury and died in December 1882, two weeks before Close's death.

When he moved to Carlisle, Close was 58 years old and he had been at Cheltenham for thirty-two years, thirty of them as incumbent of the Parish Church and Chairman of the Vestry. Notwithstanding his different role as Dean his work in Carlisle followed a pattern similar to that of his ministry in Cheltenham. He was active in the provision of three new churches in the city and in his support of educational work as well as in writing and preaching. His energy and zeal continued unabated. An anonymous writer commented favourably on "his great powers as a

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, 6th May 1839, p. 2.

²*Cheltenham Journal*, 26th August, 1841, p. 3.

preacher, his extensive charity, his noble work for the Cumberland Infirmary and the high place he held in the life of the city and in the hearts of many of its inhabitants".¹

All this casts doubt on Berwick's assertion that by 1854 Close was running out of energy and enthusiasm for everything but the new training institutions at Cheltenham.² His appointment to Carlisle caused a stir amongst the Cumberland clergy, who were for the most part of the High Church Party, because of his reputation as a low church controversialist.³ However, he was fortunate in serving under two bishops who were Evangelicals. Henry Montagu Villers who was consecrated in April 1856 and translated to Durham in August 1860 had a great interest in education. Samuel Waldergrave, who was bishop from 1860-1869 supported foreign missions including the S.P.G. and C.M.S. He was opposed to ritualism and the tractarians and vigorously opposed all attempts to relax the law for Sunday observance.⁴ Close was therefore not entirely alone in his new post, and at once asserted his authority. Seventy years later J.W. Brown commented, "The influence of the Cathedral on the life of the city has always been in proportion to the strength of character shown by the Dean, and at no time has that been so much in evidence as during the period when Dr. Francis Close held sway. Coming in 1856 from Cheltenham, where he had for many years been the ruling figure, and was dubbed its Evangelical Pope, he at once took the stage in Carlisle as one born to command

"Dean Close's activities outside the Cathedral were many, amongst them being the Infirmary, and other medical charities. In succession he held the vicarships of St. Mary's and Christ Church, while it was largely due to his influence that the new

¹*Memorials of Dean Close*, edited by one who knew him, p. 9.

²Berwick, op. cit. p. 26.

³ibid. p. 28.

⁴Bouch, C.M.L., 1948, op. cit. p. 421-425.

churches and parishes of St. Stephen, St. John and St. Paul were built and instituted."¹

There is unexpected and amusing insight into Close's power and arrogance as a preacher: "The Sunday afternoon sermon was continued by Dean Close, and he preached to overflowing congregations. Sunday after Sunday a crowd of people might be seen at the south door, waiting for it to be opened at half-past two o'clock. But truth to tell, much of the effect which he produced was caused by his magnificent presence and his glorious voice".²

"The exterior of the Cathedral is much the same now as it was then, but the interior has been made more beautiful. One exception I would make to this remark is with regard to the detestable gates at the entrance to the aisles Those aisle gates were originally erected by Dean Close to keep people in. He found that, on Sunday afternoons, some of the aisle congregation left after the anthem, without waiting for the sermon. He therefore had those gates put up, and closed and locked before the anthem, so that all those who entered were trapped and held until the sermon was over."³

On 9th April 1877 his wife Anne Diana died aged eighty-six. He married Mary Antrim, the widow of David Hodgson on 2nd December 1880. After twenty-five years as Dean of Carlisle Close resigned because of ill health in 1881 at the age of 84. He died at Morrab House, Penzance on 18th December 1882. His work in Carlisle is relevant in that it shows (in this section) that his ability to organise committees and finance to provide Churches, schools and other institutions, such as the Infirmary,

¹Brown, J.W., "*Carlisle Seventy Years Ago*", Round Carlisle Cross, (eighth series), Turnham Carlisle, 1928, p.

²ibid.

³ibid. p. 48.

remained unimpaired for many years after he left Cheltenham. It reveals aspects of Close's character because soon after he became Dean, in 1858, he quarrelled with the Precentor, who had altered an anthem without his authority. An appeal to the Bishop and Ecclesiastical court resulted which aroused a great deal of interest locally and nationally.¹

This case will be examined in some detail because it provides an example of Close's uncompromising vehemence, when involved in controversy. The anonymous author referred to above wrote about "that self will by which Francis Close was often impelled to domineer and lord it over others, while he could bear no restraint nor interference with himself."² In Carlisle, Close "soon became better known because of the things he hated than because of those he loved, and among them were the Roman Catholic Church, and its imitators the Puseyites, strong drink in all its forms, tobacco, against which he fulminated in lectures addressed to working men, theatres and the races, with all that appertains there to, the whistling of the railway engines at the Caledonian locomotive sheds under the Deanery windows; together with such minor objects of his dislike as might from time to time crop up."³

Close was a typical Evangelical in his hatred of Sunday trading, theatre going, attendance at race meetings and the use of alcohol and tobacco. These were generally abhorred by most members of the Evangelical party within the Church of England. However Close was not a typical Evangelical because of the vehemence of his denunciations, the extreme language which he used and because of his intense hostility towards Roman Catholicism and those who initiated Roman practices within

¹Brown, J.W., "*Precentor Livingston versus The Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, a Cathedral Trial in 1858*", Round Carlisle Cross, (first series), Turnham, Carlisle, 1921, p. 110.

²Memorials, op. cit. p. 9.

³Brown, J.W., 1928, op. cit. p. 45.

his own church. For example, John B. Sumner, who later became the first Evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury since the Reformation had voted for Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829. C.M.L. Bouch claims that Close's vehemence was often counter-productive because it only served to propagate the very principles which he condemned. After quoting some of Close's more extreme statements ("Between drink and tobacco the whole country reels to and fro like a drunken man;" "There is no greater curse in Europe than the British racecourse"), C.M.L. Bouch pointed out that "Some deeper explanation is needed to explain the extraordinary vehemence of his language and the wide range of his hates." He suggests that one of Close's statements might provide a clue to the answer. The statement was, "If the government of Victoria was not the same as the government of Joshua, it was nearly so." Bouch suggests that to Close "the days of the Judges were the time when human rule most nearly approached his ideal. That is, as the deity of the Dean's golden age smote the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Hivite and the Jebusite, so his servant of Victorian days likewise smote Papists, High Churchmen, drinkers of alcohol, smokers, Salvationists and atheists."¹

Certainly Close was not slow to attack any interest or group which threatened the Church of England and his own authority as incumbent at Cheltenham and Dean at Carlisle. At a later stage it will be relevant to examine the idea that some deeper explanation may be needed to explain his character. His uncompromising vehemence was shown in the Cathedral Trial of 1858.

¹Bouch, C.M.L., 1948, op. cit. p. 428-429.

Close as a Controversialist.

The dispute which took place between the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle and their Precentor, over the singing of an anthem from the Messiah in 1858 aroused a great deal of interest in Carlisle and in the national press. Throughout the dispute public sympathy was strongly in favour of the Precentor. In Carlisle a ballad attacking Close was written which was sung in the streets and at the racecourse. At the end of the lawsuit, which resulted in the Dean's defeat, "The Times" commented on his "rather sharp work" concluding with, "He evidently now believes in the Divine authority of Deans. Obey those who have the rule over you and remember that the Dean has the rule over you and I am that Dean."¹

The Precentor, the Rev. T.G. Livingston, had been appointed in June 1855. He was thirty years of age, fresh from Oxford and a "Puseyite". Although doctrine did not enter the case it may explain why this unseemly clerical squabble occurred at all. His first difference with Close occurred in February 1857 when the new Dean and a Canon reprimanded him for being late at services. This led to an acrimonious exchange of letters.²

Up until March 1858 the practice normally followed in preparing the musical lists for the Cathedral services was that the organist handed a list of suggestions to the Precentor who was entitled to make amendments. Afterwards they both presented the list to the Dean. On Friday 12th March 1858 the list submitted by the organist for the following week contained the anthem "All They That See Him" and the chorus "He Trusted in God" from the Messiah. The precentor objected to the anthem on the grounds that although it might not be objectionable in the Oratorio it could not "be

¹Quoted in Bouch, C.M.L., 1948, op. cit. p. 427.

²Brown, J.W., 1921, op. cit. p. 105.

sung with propriety as part of the service of a Christian Church" because it was an obvious outburst of hatred and derision.

Against Mr Livingston's note Dean Close wrote: "I do not concur with this objection." On the following day, Sunday 14th March, Mr Livingston wrote to the Dean a letter of expostulation, temperately and respectfully worded, which explained in greater detail why he had objected to the anthem. At the same time he struck out the original anthem which had been reinserted by Close and substituted for it the chorus "Surely He Hath Borne Our Grievs" from "The Messiah". This list was then sent to the organist.

On the following day, which was a Monday, Close wrote to the Precentor as follows:

"Reverend Sir,

As you have been so far wanting in common duty and respect to me I will not hence forward trouble you to meddle with the singing lists, as I shall prepare them myself weekly, and furnish the Organist and Choir authorities with them."¹

Later that week Close suspended Mr Livingston from his offices of Precentor and Minor Canon, a decision which was confirmed when the Dean and Chapter removed him from office on 23rd June. As a result of being sacked, Livingston appealed to the Bishop H.M. Villiers who heard evidence from learned counsel on September 7th and 8th. Nearly a month later he gave his decision and Mr Livingston was restored to his offices "from which in my opinion he has been without just cause removed."²

Close was therefore defeated and the Precentor was vindicated, though "Mr

¹ibid. p. 103-4.

²ibid. p. 106.

Livingston - who was a man of good family, his father having been at one time Governor of St. Helena - never recovered from the heavy financial embarrassment in which he was landed by this costly lawsuit."¹

This case highlights another and a darker side of Close's character particularly well, because the cause of the quarrel was so petty, his action in suspending the Precentor was so precipitate, and he was prepared to go to almost any lengths to assert his authority as the new Dean of Carlisle. Also in this dispute his compassion (which one would normally associate with his work for education and the poor) seems to have been suspended and he set out deliberately to ruin the career of a young man who was only half his age. To this end he enlisted support from most members of the Cathedral Chapter. Even the Bishop hesitated for nearly a month before making a decision. Afterwards there was no attempt at reconciliation: "When they met they rarely exchanged words."²

The Cathedral Trial of 1858 is an example of Close's determination in sustaining a quarrel and his personal vindictiveness towards one who opposed him. It is most easily understood as a technique, which he used in order to gain influence and power. Even in this case, which Close lost, he gained one important point because the Bishop confirmed the authority of the Dean and Chapter over the Precentor. He used this technique with considerable success on numerous occasions during his incumbency at Cheltenham. Many must have hesitated to oppose him because of his fierce vehemence and those who did were worn down by his dogged persistence.

These character traits had their most obvious effects in Cheltenham over the issue of Sunday observance. Close's Sabbatarian principles were so strong that it was

¹ibid. p. 110.

²ibid. p. 109.

said that Cheltenham "assumed a more sober, discreet, quiet and religious appearance than any other town in England or the United Kingdom."¹

In his Sabbatarianism he was supported by a large proportion of the residents and most of the Anglican and Non Conformist Clergy. The Cheltenham Society for the Prevention of the Desecration of the Sabbath was formed in December 1839 and in a short time succeeded in closing most of the shops which had previously been open on Sundays. Close then turned his attention to postmen and milkmen who were expected to work on that day. He also attacked the fashionable members of his own congregation who employed the drivers of flies and other carriages to take them to church, whilst their own coachmen and horses were rightly given a rest. "Surely the tearing galloping scene at the doors of churches was most displeasing to the Almighty. Let people walk to church or if they be invalids, let them use hand flies. Unlike the Jehus with their horses to mind, those who wheeled them would at least be able to come to Church to join in the service."²

On June 24th 1840 the first railway line was completed from Birmingham to Cheltenham. A proposal to run Sunday trains immediately produced letters from Close and a vigorous campaign to prevent this from happening. For six years this campaign was successful. Close himself made an appeal to the Directors and later to the "Railway King" Hudson. Until the passing of the Railway Act in 1846 which enforced the running of certain passenger trains on all lines on Sundays, Cheltenham had the distinction of having the only railway which did not run Sunday trains. Close commented on the 1846 act: "Another page of Godless legislation is recorded in the annals of our beloved country and another national sin invokes the displeasure of the

¹Munden, A.F., "*Radicalism versus Evangelicalism in Victorian Cheltenham*", *Southern History*, Vol. ., p.117.

²*Cheltenham Journal*, May 25th 1840, Letter to the editor

Almighty."¹

On July 10th 1853 the first Sunday excursion train ran from London to Cheltenham. In his evening sermon Close "gave it as his opinion that if the day of judgement had come suddenly upon the Sabbath breakers, who came down by the train, the responsibility would rest upon those who induced them to commit the sin - upon the railway directors who bribed them to break God's commandments by running the trains at lower fares on the Sabbath day."²

Seven years before Close first came to Cheltenham, as the curate of Holy Trinity, horse races were held on Cleeve Hill with such success that by 1826 they had become a popular annual event. On the occasion of the first race meeting after his induction as incumbent he launched a vigorous attack from the pulpit in which he maintained that the races promoted sins of every kind. "If then, the works of the flesh are these, according to St. Paul "Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, wrath, strife, envying, drunkenness, revellings and SUCH LIKE" and if these are the things which infallibly exclude men from "the Kingdom of heaven" - then I say that these and "such like" are practised to a degree and in an extent, at this season, that is truly frightful: we might almost suppose that the inhabitants of the cities of the plain were let loose upon us."³

Close preached against the races throughout his ministry in Cheltenham. One of his last sermons before he left in 1856 was on this subject. In Carlisle he continued to condemn the races which were held there.

His opposition to theatrical entertainments was also vehement and persistent.

¹Hart, G., 1965, op. cit., p.219.

²Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p.593.

³Tracts on the Cheltenham Races 1827. The evil consequences of attending the racecourse exposed in a sermon preached in the Parish Church of Cheltenham on Sunday Morning June 27th 1827 by the Rev. F. Close, Perpetual Curate. J Hatchard, Picadilly, pp. 7 & 8.

There was a flourishing tradition of drama in the town before Close arrived. Mrs Siddons, Kean & Kemble had all been associated with the Theatre Royal. For thirteen years Close's attempts to wean the population away from theatre going met with increasing success until the temptation was removed in 1839 when the theatre was burned to the ground. Close took this event as a mark of divine disapproval and the theatre was not rebuilt whilst he remained in the town. He continued to condemn amateur productions and play readings. In January 1849 considerable excitement was caused because of "an alleged threat of the Rev. F. Close to withdraw his support from the Cheltenham Hospital, if the Board received the proceeds of an amateur dramatic performance got up in its favour."¹ This had been attended by one of the most aristocratic of audiences ever assembled in Cheltenham. There was much relief when "Mr Close wrote an explanatory letter, stating that though he was opposed to dramatic entertainments, he never threatened to withdraw his support from the Hospital; but on the contrary had advised the Board to accept the proceeds, as the entertainment was got up without their interference."²

Close also condemned musical entertainments, including the singing of oratorios in Gloucester Cathedral which he regarded as "profane and immoral" and the three choirs festival.³ As a staunch Conservative he denounced the Chartists, Owenites, Radicals and Atheists. "I cannot for the life of me separate politics from religious preaching" he said "I cannot teach a man his duty without in some degree talking politics. In my humble opinion, the Bible is conservative, the Prayer Book conservative, and it is impossible for a minister to open his mouth without being a

¹Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p.578

²ibid.

³Bell, A., 1981, op. cit., p.22.

conservative."¹

In August 1839 the Chartists from Cheltenham and the neighbouring towns determined to advertise their cause by attending a Sunday morning service in a body. Close cancelled an engagement to preach elsewhere so that he might receive them with an appropriate sermon. Although he was well aware of the social conditions which the Chartists sought to rectify he showed little sympathy for their aims. "What your wishes are I do not know or understand. I believe you do not understand them yourselves except it be to bring down all that is above you and produce one common level. What folly is here!"² He warned them against Socialism and advised them to count their blessings. "Don't be persuaded out of your good old English feelings of loyalty and piety; don't cast away your spiritual hymn book and change it for the Social Hymn Book where the name of God and Christ are erased and that of reason put in their place. The poor man has (in this country) equal rights with his richer neighbours Where is the country where the poor man may grow rich, where by integrity he may rise to the greatest honour of the State more easily than in England? Let the poor man look among those rich persons whom he is disposed to envy and ascertain how many have raised themselves to their present state by their own talents, ability and industry. I say that this is the land where every good man prospers, though the discontented and the evil may be discontented still."³

Towards the end of the service the organ struck up the National Anthem which prompted the Chartists to walk out.⁴

The radical cause was supported by the Cheltenham Free Press (f1834) the

¹Lecture to the Church of England Reading Association, Cheltenham Journal, January 25th 1841.

²Close, F. Sermon to the Chartists of Cheltenham, preached on Sunday 18th August 1839.

³ibid.

⁴Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p.554.

congregation of the Unitarian Chapel and the members of the Mechanics' Institute.¹ Closes' most vindictive spirit was next directed against George J. Holyoake who spoke at the Mechanics' Institute during the summer of 1842. Holyoake was 25, a supporter of Robert Owen and he held secularist views. These ideas were gaining ground during the "hungry eighteen forties" possibly as a reaction against the alliance of the Church with the Conservative party. 1842 was a particularly bad year as far as employment and social conditions were concerned. Holyoake's lecture subject was "Socialism" and he was known to be an atheist or free thinker because he produced a journal in Bristol entitled "*The Oracle of Reason*". His colleague Charles Southwell had already been imprisoned for blasphemy. For that reason Holyoake made no reference to religion during the course of his lecture. The meeting ended in good order but afterwards two men who were locally credited with being Close's agents questioned him carefully:

"The Lecturer has told us much about our duty to Man," they said. "What about our duty to God?" Holyoake replied by protesting about the amount of money devoted to the upkeep of the Church at a time when large numbers of people were starving. "I appeal to your heads and your pockets" he said and asked "if we are not too poor to have a God?"² Two weeks later Holyoake returned to talk on "Civil and Religious Liberty". When he had finished speaking he was arrested by the superintendent of police, without warrant and was charged the next day with having uttered statements which were blasphemous, at his previous meeting. His friend George Adams was also arrested and charged with distributing blasphemous publications. On August 15th 1842 Holyoake was sentenced to six months

¹Munden, A.F., 1980, op. cit., p.118.

²Hart, G., 1965, op. cit., p.221.

imprisonment and Adams to one month.¹ The case aroused a great deal of controversy. A public meeting in Cheltenham passed a resolution condemning the conduct of the Cheltenham magistrates as cruel and tyrannical and questions were asked in the House of Commons. At his trial Holyoake pressed James Bartram, a printer employed at the Cheltenham Chronicle, who was the only witness for the prosecution, to say whether a clergyman had prompted him over the original charge.² These questions were not allowed by the Judge so it is not possible to be certain that Close was responsible, though C.M.L.Bouch maintains that he was.³ This is most probably true because he was consistent in his abhorrence of atheism for the rest of his life. When Charles Bradlaugh M.P. for Northampton asked to affirm instead of taking the usual oath in 1880 and 1881, Dean Close called him a "blaspheming infidel".

"If those fools as Scripture called them, who said in their hearts "there is no God", said it only in their hearts (they) "he did not wish to meddle with them. Let them have their liberty but if their wicked lips spoke the same - if they write and print and circulate the same - if they flash it in the face of Christian people religious liberty ceased to be liberty in that case and the Christian religion could not tolerate it".⁴

In an eloquent speech Holyoake defended the right of everyone to freedom of speech and religious beliefs. His criticism of the Church highlights the anomalies of Close's stance. "I have injured no man's reputation, I have stolen no man's property, I have done no man evil - my simple offence has been telling the truth.

¹Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p.559.

²Bell, A., op. cit., p.24.

³Bouch, C.M.L., p.427.

⁴Memorials of Dean Close, op. cit., p.67-8.

Socrates is the man whom I have made my exemplar in Cheltenham I invited persons whose duty it was, and who were abundantly paid for it to discuss the question. They have chosen the strong arm of the law when they ought to have used strong arguments Christianity has drawn a line here which does her no credit. We do not stand on the same footing. Christianity says we are all brethren, but I like not that equality which allows one man to revel in his opinions - while others are punished with imprisonment in gaol for thinking theirs."¹

Holyoake returned to lecture in Cheltenham soon after he was released but on that occasion no further charges were made against him. Even though the majority of local papers which supported Close expressed satisfaction at the prison sentences, the publicity may have discouraged whoever had instigated Holyoake's arrest, from a renewed trial of strength. However, Close's own opinions of those who held latitudinarian views remained unaltered.

In October 1847 George Dawson gave two lectures at the Cheltenham Literary and Philosophical Institution which led to another controversy over freedom of speech and religious beliefs. Dawson was not an atheist. He was a Baptist minister from Birmingham who became popular as a lecturer and was well known for expressing his own ideas freely and honestly. He was sceptical in his religious and radical in his political beliefs. His subject "The Characteristics and Tendencies of the Present Age" attracted a large and enthusiastic audience. Amongst those who attended his second lecture was the Rev. W.F. Wilkinson, the first Theological Tutor of Cheltenham College who had been appointed by Close and Browne three years before. As an ordinary member of the Institution he was asked by the President, Thomas Wright, to propose a vote of thanks and agreed to do so before the lecture took place. His

¹Quoted in Bell, A., 1981, op. cit., p.24.

speech of thanks was carefully worded because of his position at the College.

"Although we may not all agree exactly with every premise and every conclusion, we must all of us have understood many facts and many truths better and more clearly for what we have heard. There has hardly been put forth a single principle in which we may not all cordially agree."¹ This was not good enough for the Directors of the College Board of Governors. They considered that Wilkinson had behaved improperly in associating himself with Dawson since his views were "wholly inconsistent with those on which this institution was founded."² A Committee of Investigation was formed and a public letter of censure was sent to Wilkinson, who felt obliged to resign in consequence. The moving spirit behind this action was clearly the Rev. Francis Close who as vice president of the governors had a great deal of influence.³

This affair caused months of controversy. A public meeting was held at the Town Hall at which Dawson spoke and an address of sympathy was presented to Wilkinson. A similar address was presented to him by members of the Literary and Philosophical Institution who also expressed their condemnation. "Of the narrow-minded despotic conduct of the College Board of Directors." There were similar comments in the Free Press including a long letter from the minister of Bayshill chapel, who accused the College council of despotic bigotry and then went on to criticise Close for his constant attacks on the Catholics.⁴ In the end Wilkinson's career was not put in jeopardy. "Ultimately, the facts being reported to the Government, a valuable living in the city of Derby was presented to Mr Wilkinson by

¹Quoted in Bell, A., p.54.

²Minutes of the Directors of Cheltenham College, op. cit., 22nd November 1847

³Bell, A., op. cit., p.54.

⁴ibid., p.55.

the Lord Chancellor."¹

The process of Roman Catholic emancipation began with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts two years after Close was appointed as incumbent at Cheltenham. Soon after Catholics were allowed to sit in Parliament and to hold military, judicial and administrative posts under the Crown. Liberal opinion had supported the principle of emancipation for many years but it was viewed with great disquiet by many Anglicans including Close. His first sermon specifically against the Roman Catholic Church was published in 1835. From then on he made constant attacks, particularly in his sermons on November 5th. The law which required the clergy of the Church of England to hold a special service of thanksgiving on the anniversary of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot was not abolished until 1858. These services provided Close with an ideal opportunity to preach against "Popery" in the strongest terms.

In 1829 Simeon warned his undergraduates of the dangers of Popery: "I doubt not that a crisis is at hand, a contest for thirty or forty years England will be inundated with Popery and it will spread, for we have Popish hearts by nature Every minister of the Church of England must now be a ready master of the whole question between Romanists and Protestants; not to argue in a vituperative way or violent spirit, but by exhibiting the excellence of Protestantism."²

Despite this advice, by 1845 Close's concern about the growth of the Roman Catholic Church was obsessional, in its hostility and vituperative in the extreme. His 5th November sermon of that year included this description of worldwide Roman Catholicism: "Contemplating the marvellous history of this mysterious power even the men of this world, her historians, politicians and philosophers stand amazed. They

¹Golding, J., 1863, op. cit., p.575.

²Brown, *Conversation Parties*, op. cit. p.117.

behold amidst the wreck of many nations this spiritual power alone surviving; compared with the popedom every throne is modern; contrasted with the complicated machinery of ecclesiastical and political chicanery all the policy of earthly statesmen is puerile and childish. A power and an influence that is capable of universal adaptation, which vegetates in ignorance, flourishes in the halls of science, revels in the courts of princes, dwells in the cells of anchorites, maintains itself alike among barbarous hordes and highly cultivated nations, lives in all climates and fraternizes with all the tribes of man - what human head could devise, what human hand direct this vast machinery of evil? None, none - it is not of man, it is of Satan - it is the mystery of iniquity and bears the impress of the fingers of the prince of darkness."¹

Close was not alone in his hatred of Popery. Anti-Catholic feeling was widespread and his equation of the Catholic Church with Satan was not unusual in 1845, though it would be regarded as unbalanced today. Public indignation against the Pope reached a peak in October 1850 when Nicholas Wiseman (1802-65) issued his pastoral letter from Rome. This announced that he had been appointed as a Cardinal and as the new Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster by Pope Pius IX, together with twelve new Bishops to govern the Catholic Church in Britain. The large numbers of Irish Catholics who had settled in this country following the potato famine (1847) probably made this re-organisation necessary. However, the exultant style of this letter and his claim to govern parts of England caused widespread indignation. Meetings to protest against "Papal Aggression" were held all over the country and riots broke out in several towns. In Cheltenham a great meeting was held at the Town Hall with Close as one of the panel of speakers. An anti-Papal address was drawn up to protest against "Papal aggression and the appointment of Roman

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, November 7th 1845.

Catholic Bishops." A month later this address, signed by over 4000 people was presented to the Queen. Meanwhile on November 21st an attempt to burn in effigy the Pope and Cardinals was stopped by the police. A large crowd attacked the Catholic Chapel, the iron railings in front of it were torn up and the building was nearly set on fire.

"The mob in their fury, broke open the premises of several Roman Catholic tradesmen and took away their shutters and the books out of their shops to help to make a bonfire. It was with great difficulty the police succeeded in quelling the disturbance, and on the following day several hundred special constables were sworn in to assist the force in preventing a recurrence of the outrage."¹

In 1851, Close's 5th November sermon was on the same theme. It was printed as a pamphlet entitled *Semper Idem or Popery Everywhere and Always the Same*. For him the Roman Catholic Church was a threat to civil and religious liberty: "No-one could wax more eloquent on 'those two lovely twins' civil and religious liberty or preach more movingly on the 'thesis that Popery is destructive of Civil and Religious Liberty," than the Dean."²

Notwithstanding his own attacks upon Charles Bradlaugh, Holyoake and others he maintained that "despotism is Popery - Liberty is Protestantism." However, the Church of Rome was an external threat. As such it could be opposed with vigour and determination whenever it was seen to be encroaching, as in the case of the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy. Moreover he knew that this opposition would attract widespread public support. The threat which was posed by the Oxford movement was far more serious and alarming to Close because it came from within the Church of England itself. He believed that the tractarians, the ritualists and the

¹Golding., J., 1863, op. cit., p.590.

²Bouch, C.M.L., 1948, op. cit., p.427.

architectural principles of the Cambridge Camden Society were systematically infiltrating the church with Popery and threatening, not only the established status of the Church of England, but the beliefs and principles on which the Church of England was founded during the reformation settlement itself.

The Tractarian movement began with John Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy" in July 1833 and developed through the issue of "Tracts for the Times." Most of these were written by John Henry Newman (1801-90), Vicar of St. Mary's Church, Oxford (1834-43). His final tract 90 "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles" led to widespread protests and Newman's withdrawal from Oxford. He retired to a semi-monastic establishment which he had set up at Littlemore and was accepted into the Roman Catholic Church on October 20th 1845.

At first the religious position which Newman proclaimed was the belief that the Church of England, by the providence of God, held a middle position between Protestantism and Romanism. It had survived the Reformation with its Catholic Creed and Apostolic Succession unimpaired but these had become obscured through the growth of Protestant practice. Initially his criticisms were directed equally against Romanism and Dissent and he looked back to a distant past before Christendom had become divided. By 1837 however, his attacks upon the Protestant reformers had become dominant and he began to have doubts about the authority of the Church of England as compared with that of Rome. In February 1843 he publicly withdrew his sayings against the Church of Rome. A month later Close said at a public dinner that he "would not trust the author of tract 90 with his purse."¹

Close believed that because the influence of the Tractarians was insidious it must be opposed and exposed on every possible occasion so that the Church of

¹Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church Part 1*, W & J Mackay & Co. Ltd., Chatham, Kent, 1966, p.196.

England Clergy and laity were made aware of the danger. From 1835 he began to equate Tractarianism with Popery. His gunpowder plot sermon on November 5th 1842 was entitled "The written tradition or the only Divine Rule of Faith and Practice vindicated against the Tractarians." In it he defended the Protestant view that "A simple layman armed with the Scriptures is to be believed above a pope or a council without it"¹ against the Tractarians' assertion that the interpretation of the meanings of the Bible must be left to the "Collective Church" rather than the individual. This sermon ran to five editions. Close explained his purpose in having it published: "The following Sermon is given to the public in a cheap form, principally with a view to give wider circulation to doctrines which the Author still hopes only require to be fully known to be generally repudiated. He cannot believe that Christians in this land are as yet prepared to adopt tenets so anti-scriptural; so derogatory, not to inspiration merely but to the character of God himself:- Who, if these opinions can be established (with reverence be it spoken), is charged with causing a book to be written, professedly for the guidance of fallen man which man is unable to understand or decipher without the previous possession of qualification with which no INDIVIDUAL is gifted, but which can be found only in the "Collective Church!"² He went on to maintain that the Bible is the only "Divine and Infallible guide in faith and practice to Protestants and to attack the "modern teachers in our own church" who have "treacherously and impiously" undermined this great truth.³

He renewed his attack on 5th November 1843 in a sermon entitled "Tractarianism: the whole system is destructive." Earlier in that year he expressed

¹See Martin Luther's declaration at the Diet of Worms, 1521.

²Close F., *"The Written Tradition or the only Divine Rule of Faith and Practice Vindicated against the Tractarians."* A sermon preached in the Parish Church Cheltenham on November 5th 1842 by the Rev. F. Close, A.M., Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly, Price 4d or £1 per 1,000. p.III.

³ibid p.6

concern about Tractarian involvement in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These doubts were expressed in a series of letters to the Secretary of the Society. An auxiliary committee of the S.P.G. existed in Cheltenham and its collections amounted to about £300 per year. In March Close withdrew his support from the S.P.G. and the Secretary the Rev. Archibald Campbell also resigned.¹

In the following year Close turned his attention to the Cambridge Camden Society. On 5th November 1844 he explained: "During the year now drawing to a close, my attention has been more particularly directed to the same class of errors and false doctrine promulgated in a still more plausible and attractive form, namely under the plea of reviving Church Architecture. It will be my object then, on the present occasion, to show that as Romanism is taught Analytically at Oxford, it is taught Artistically at Cambridge - that it is inculcated theoretically in tracts at one University and it is sculptured, painted and graven at the other. The Cambridge Camdens build churches and furnish symbolic vessels by which the Oxford Tractarians may carry out their principles - in a word "The Ecclesiologist" of Cambridge is identical in doctrine with the Oxford Tracts for the Times."²

The Cambridge Camden Society which had been founded in 1839 was a very important society by 1844. It included both Archbishops, 16 Bishops and numerous peers, archdeacons and rural deans amongst its members. Amongst these was its president, Thomas Thorpe, senior tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, who later became Archdeacon of Gloucester. In November 1844 the controversy over the restoration of the Round Church in Cambridge (St. Sepulchre's), by the Camden Society was at its height. The incumbent, who lived in Exeter and seemed to take

¹Cheltenham Journal, May 1st 1943, p.2

²Close F, *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery, Proved and Illustrated from the Architectural Publications of "The Cambridge Camden Society."* A sermon preached in the Parish Church, Cheltenham on Tuesday, November 5th 1844 by Rev. F. Close, A.M., Perpetual Curate. Hatchard & Son. p. 4.

little interest in the repairs to the church objected when the Camden Society inserted a stone altar and credence table. He called these objects "most pernicious and soul destroying heresies" and sued the church wardens in the Consistory Court. He lost this case and appealed to the Court of Arches. On 31st January 1845 he won his case. The Dean of Arches ruled that the stone altar was not a communion table and so the altar together with the credence table were moved out into the churchyard. Close took a leading part in encouraging the incumbent to appeal and this case was at its height in November 1844. Following their defeat the Cambridge Camden Society was dissolved in February 1845 and many of its supporters resigned. It was reformed as the Ecclesiological Society of London in May.¹

Subsequently Archdeacon Thorpe, who had supported the church wardens of St. Sepulchre's, led the opposition amongst local clergy to the foundation of the Training College at Cheltenham. In April 1849 he and his supporters packed a meeting which Close addressed in Clifton in order to raise funds. For some time they prevented him from speaking and were only silenced when he threatened to call in the police. In 1844 Close was a founder member of the Church Extension Fund. This was an Evangelical Church Building Society which was set up in opposition to "The National Church Building Society" which until then had helped to finance the construction of new churches for the Church of England. Close had refused to support this body and the Diocesan Building Society for several years on the grounds that it was "tainted with Tractarian heresies." In 1849 St. Peter's Church was built in Cheltenham on his initiative, with the assistance of the Church Extension Fund.²

The controversy between the Evangelicals and Tractarians came to a head in 1845 and led directly to the formation of the committee which established the

¹Chadwick O, 1966 op. cit., p., 336.

²See p 41.

Training Institutions in Cheltenham. Early in that year Sir Robert Peel introduced a Bill to increase the annual grant to the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth from £9,000 to £27,000 per year and also gave a capital grant of £30,000 for new buildings. The anti-Popery campaign which followed was widespread and eventually the Bill was passed by an alliance of Whigs and half of the Tories. In Cheltenham a public meeting was held at the Town Hall on 31st March to protest against the proposal and to draw up a petition.¹ On this occasion Close concentrated his attack on the Church of Rome itself: "I conscientiously oppose the Roman system because I believe it to be Anti-Christ at all events, that if it be not the Anti-Christ, it is an Anti-Christ, a lofty one, a mighty one, a terrible one! Anti-Christian in doctrine, Anti-Christian in practice, Anti-Christian in its persecuting and intolerant spirit."²

On August 4th following the Parliamentary debate and passage of the Bill, Close addressed the Annual General Meeting of "The British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation." On this occasion two meetings, which were very well attended, were held at the Town Hall. At the meeting in the afternoon Close was appointed Chairman by universal acclaim. He spent some time explaining why he had decided to join the society. Previously he had held back because he wished to avoid the discussion of religious controversies on public platforms! He went on to explain that now "The times are changed, fearfully and are changing still; and I think this whole country is in a transition state towards Romanism. I see it everywhere, I feel it everywhere, I perceive it in publications where I had least expected to find it; I see it in the Legislature. I hear and have read such sentiments propounded, during the late debate in Parliament as have made me tremble I will

¹Golding J, 1863, op cit, p 360

²Close F. 1845, *Corrected Report of the Speeches Delivered at a Meeting in the Town Hall, Cheltenham on Monday 31st March 1845 to Petition Against the Enlarged Grant to Maynooth College*, p 15.

conclude these observations by expressing my strongest hope that we shall ever be found united in unshaken, untiring opposition to the dogmas, the principles and the teachings of the Church of Rome, whether they are found in the bosom of our own Church or in the professed disciples of Popery."¹

A month later on September 23rd, nine members of the local clergy and ten laymen met to establish an Evangelical Training College in Cheltenham. Most of them were probably members of the Society for Promoting The Religious Principles of the Reformation and had heard Close speak. They included the Rev. J.E. Riddle, who had spoken at the meeting on 4th August, and the Rev. J. Browne who had sent his apologies for absence. At this initial meeting they called themselves "The Friends of Scriptural Education through the Medium of the Established Church" but renamed themselves "The Church of England Training Schools Association" at their second meeting on 21st October.

On 9th October 1845 only sixteen days after the inaugural meeting of the group, it must have seemed that their fears were justified and that Close was vindicated in his dire warnings against Popery. On that date the Rev. J.H. Newman, one of the three most prominent leaders of the Tractarians announced that he intended to become a Roman Catholic. He was followed by several other members of the movement. To some, the conversion of England to Roman Catholicism must have seemed at hand. Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, who was Professor of Hebrew at Oxford now became the leader of the Tractarian movement. His conversion to Rome was continually expected for several years. In 1845 Roman Catholics were urged to pray for this because it would have been a great prize for them; a final assurance that conversion to their faith was the logical conclusion of Tractarianism.² This is what

¹The Cheltenham Journal & Stroud Herald, 11th August 1845.

²Cowie L.W., 1973, op cit, p 71

Close had argued for several years. In fact, however, Pusey and most of his followers remained loyal to the Church of England and the number of defections to Rome was much smaller than most people had expected. Close could not have anticipated this in 1845. When considered in this context his vehement attacks on the Tractarians in his November 5th sermons do not seem so surprising or unreasonable.

Newman's apostasy and the events of 1845 changed Close's attitude towards the National Society. Up to that time he had firmly supported the Church of England's claim to control schools and to ensure that Church doctrines were taught in them. During the 1830's his concern had been to defend the National Society against dissenters, radicals, secularists and the Government. In October 1837, for example, his quarrel with Wilderspin, the leader of the infant school movement had come to a head over the radicals' campaign for an integrated national system of education. Wilderspin invited two of the leading members of "The Central Society of Education" (f 1836) to speak on this issue in Cheltenham. As a result, 348 individuals signed a petition to Parliament which called for "the establishment of a National Board of Education." Soon afterwards Close responded by convening a public meeting which was supported by almost everyone with any influence in the town. As a result, two petitions were sent, one to the Queen signed by 8,006 women of Cheltenham and one to Parliament signed by 5,048 men. The latter petition, which was described in the press as having been signed by about all the male adult population of the town¹ called for the retention of church schools and concluded with the prayer: "that no system of education may ever receive the sanction of your Right Honourable House, which does not secure the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures according to the

¹The Record, 30th November 1837

Authorized Version."¹

Again in 1839 Close had been one the most vigorous opponents of Lord Brougham's Bill which proposed the establishment of a Government Board of Education and locally elected boards of school managers. At a great meeting of members and friends of the established church, which was held in London under the chairmanship of Lord Ashley, Close urged the clergy to form themselves into local boards and through these to keep in touch with the Central Committee of the National Society.² Close himself had been an active member of the Gloucester Diocesan Board of Education since 1836 and claimed that he had hardly missed a meeting in seven years.³

The threat of Popery in 1845 changed Close's attitude towards the National Society completely. He explained his reasons at the Annual General Meeting of the London Hibernian Society on October 25th only four days after the formation of the Church of England Training Schools Association. As chairman he began by explaining that the society had originally been established to introduce scriptural education into Ireland and was at first managed jointly by Churchmen and Dissenters. It later became a Church of England society for that purpose. The report continues: "In alluding to the Irish Church he was happy to be able to say that the great bulk of her Clergy were biblical and Evangelical Protestants and he was therefore not unhappy to entrust to them the education of the people. He was sorry he could not say as much for the Clergy of his own country, into whose hands in numerous cases it was dangerous to commit the power: for they were found apostating to Rome everyday.

¹Close F, 1838. Address To the House of Lords: "*National Education and Lord Brougham's Bill Considered*; in a series of nine letters together with an appendix," p 72.

²Cheltenham Journal, February 18th 1839

³Close F, "*The Exposition at Willis's Rooms, Being the Anti-government Education Meeting Held on 7th February 1850 with Animadversions*," 1850 p 27.

He regretted this sincerely and was much affected by a recent letter he had received from the Bishop of the Diocese lamenting the secession to Popery of one of his incumbents who had held a living in their county. Under these unfortunate circumstances, he had not the same confidence in the propriety of placing the young mind of the country under Clerical control. But he trusted that the malaria would soon cease and that the Church would triumph over all its enemies."¹

The formation of the Church of England Training Schools Society was a very controversial matter because it challenged the National Society's monopoly. Up to that time the National Society had claimed to be the sole agent for the Church of England in all of its educational work including the training of teachers. This was a claim which Close had previously upheld. He knew that the new society would meet with opposition on the grounds that it was dividing the Church of England. In 1849 Archdeacon Thorpe of Gloucester and fifty-four clergy from the diocese of Gloucester and the Bristol area, together with the Mayor of Bristol and numerous laymen, referred to the training college as "a schismatical institution" which was "hostile to the Bishop" and likely to "ferment divisions among Churchmen."²

It is not surprising therefore that in his opening address to the Hibernian Society, Close made no reference to the new organisation, which had been set up in Cheltenham to train teachers only days before, even though it was much in his mind. For the next eighteen months the executive committee of the Training Schools Society met discreetly, almost in secret, with Close as chairman. It did not advertise in the press until April 1847.³ By that time there was enough support amongst Evangelicals to sustain a separate organization to rival the National Society in the field of teacher

¹Cheltenham Journal, 27th October 1845

²Cheltenham Journal, April 30th 1849

³Cheltenham Examiner, April 7th 1847

training.

There would not have been enough support for Close if he had proposed the establishment of a separate Evangelical organization for education as a whole at that time. Concern about Tractarian influence within the National Society was not sufficiently widespread for this until 1852 when "The Church of England Education Society" was formed. Close himself did not leave the National Society until 1848. The training of teachers was however quite a different matter. Here the important factor was the considerable experience which Close had already gained in training teachers at the National and infant schools in Cheltenham. This was combined with his concern about Tractarian influence within the training colleges which had already been established, particularly St. Marks, a concern which was felt by a significant group of Evangelicals in 1845.

The establishment of a separate organization specifically to train teachers represented a logical step in the process by which Close the controversialist tried to oppose the growth of Tractarian influence within Church organisations. His November 5th sermons in 1842 and 1843 were both directed against the Tractarians. He withdrew from the S.P.G. because of Tractarian influence in 1843. He helped to set up the Church Extension Fund in opposition to the Cambridge Camden Society in 1844. In 1845, the year of the extension to the Maynooth grant and Newman's apostasy, he wrote the rules and regulations for an Evangelical Training Institution in Cheltenham. Close and his friends believed that the best way to counter the influence of the Tractarians and to preserve the principles of the Reformation was to train teachers who would pass on these principles to the rising generation. Between June 1847 and 1850 Close travelled all over the country to speak to Evangelical groups and to raise money and support for the new college. All of his extensive

deputation work was carried on "amidst much opposition and misrepresentation"¹ from supporters of the National Society. Therefore when he preached and lectured on behalf of this cause in places as far apart as Edinburgh and Brighton he was also sustaining his quarrel with the Tractarians.

During this period opposition to the Tractarians gradually spread. When Close withdrew from the National Society in 1848, Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth wrote to give him his personal support. As the Secretary of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, (who had been appointed in 1839), Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth had an overview of the situation which had developed since then. He explained:

"All the great schemes of the church have been mainly directed by a small clique of laity and clergy who belong to the modern idealistic and Romanising party in the church. The Evangelical clergy and laity have stood by and suffered this monstrous usurpation..... My belief is that you now have the power to awaken the entire body of Evangelical clergy and laity of England, and to administer a heavy blow and great discouragement to the Anglican, Romanising party in their designs on the education of England."²

By 1851 a committee of influential metropolitan clergymen and laymen had been formed in London to administer just such a blow. On April 19th 1852, they deposited a memorial or protest with the secretary of the National Society which had 2,845 signatories including 1,138 beneficed clergy and 260 curates. Afterwards a deputation "waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth and in the presence of the Bishop of London stated that if the constitution of the National Society were not speedily altered and their objections to its administration removed, they would feel compelled to establish a new Society for promoting education according

¹C.H. 4/1/1.3, 1850, p.35

²Smith, F., 1923, op.cit., p.191.

to the principles of the Church of England."¹

To that end the London committee persuaded between four and five hundred gentlemen to attend the Annual General Meeting of the National Society on 10th June 1852. Close attended and it was recorded in the monthly paper of the National Society for July 1852 that he took part in the discussion of a point of order together with Archdeacon Denison.² Two years later at the first annual meeting of the Cheltenham auxiliary of the Church of England Education Society, he gave his own account of what had happened. In answer to the question "How did the Society originate?", he said:

"It originated in a meeting of the National Society - the first and last which he had ever attended - and a greater bear garden he never witnessed in the whole course of his life A large number of members of the Church of England had long endeavoured to get in the National Society what they thought was their right - namely a fair representation of that body of the Church called the Evangelical body. After a variety of efforts, which had occupied a series of years, they became fully persuaded that they had no chance of being properly represented in the councils of the Society. Accordingly, a large body of those present at the meeting (numbering between two and three hundred clergymen and laymen) adjourned to a neighbouring coffee house, and then and there passed resolutions that it was useless any longer to try and exercise an influence on the National Society; and that therefore they should have a society of their own, by which they might carry out education according to their own fashion and have schools in which would be imparted the true and genuine principles

¹Aldridge, R., *"Uncertain Vintage, The Origins of the Church of England Education Society"*, History of Education Society Bulletin, No 18, Autumn 1976, p.42.

²ibid., p.43.

of the Church of England."¹

From its foundation Close was one of the staunchest supporters of the Church of England Education Society. He spoke at the public meeting in Willis's Rooms on 25th May 1853 at which it was formally instituted.² Three weeks later he attacked the National Society at the Anniversary Meeting of the Church of England Training Schools Society, listing his reasons for leaving it:

"The National Society by its opposition to the cooperation of the laity in the management of schools, by its refusal to relax its terms of union in favour of dissenters and still more by the inculcation of unsound doctrine in the Training College and the adoption of mediæval ritual in St. Mark's College has misrepresented the feeling and forfeited the confidence of a large part of the Church of England I am not prepared to advocate the cause of the National Society. I am not prepared any longer to subscribe to its funds. I consider it has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the Protestant portion at least of the Church of England."³

Soon afterwards he set up an auxiliary branch of the Church of England Education Society in Cheltenham. This was the culmination of his persistent opposition to Tractarian influence within the National Society. Apart from his remark about the religious bias at St. Mark's as the most important reason for leaving the National Society, the rival organisation which he had founded was closely linked to the Training Institutions at Cheltenham. In November 1854 he explained that the new society "pays the expenses of many deserving young men and women in training colleges, and this is a useful work which has not been done before."⁴

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, 18th November 1854.

²*Cheltenham Journal*, 28th May 1853

³*Cheltenham Journal*, 18th June 1853.

⁴*Cheltenham Journal*, 18th November 1854.

At that time three colleges were formally connected with the Society. These were the Cheltenham Training College, the Home and Colonial School Society and the Metropolitan Training Institution at Highbury; all Evangelical foundations. Like the Training Schools Society the new society was based on "Protestant, Evangelical and Biblical principles".¹ Apart from assisting candidates in training and training colleges it aimed to assist schools in deprived areas by making grants towards the salaries of teachers and for the purchase of school equipment. This was far more than the National Society had aimed to do. Close explained:

"There is a class of schools throughout the country so badly supported and where the education is of such an inferior character, that they could not, by any means, get any relief from the Government. Now it was an object of the Society to assist these poor schools, and to bring them if possible to the Government level, when they would swim for themselves. This is a very important work at the present crisis."²

This statement which was made on a November evening when "the attendance was thin - a circumstance attributable principally to the unfavourable weather which prevailed during the day"³ contrasts with the rhetoric of his denunciations of Popery. It reveals that more pleasing side of his character even though it was made as part of a meeting which was highly controversial at the time. First, it shows him advocating that there is a general duty to improve schools for the children of the poor. This was based not just on conviction or compassion. His own experience of education and teacher training in Cheltenham all combined to make the aims of the Church of England Society practical and attainable. Moreover his reference to schools being

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, 18th June 1853.

²*Cheltenham Journal*, 18th November 1854.

³*ibid.*

brought "to the Government level, when they would be able to swim for themselves" shows that he was acutely aware of the difficulties of maintaining schools by voluntary means alone.

The events of 1845, particularly the foundation of the Church of England Training School Association changed Close's attitude towards Government involvement in Education. Up to that time he had opposed most Government schemes because they required the Church to compromise with other religious groups. After that date he became a leading advocate of cooperation between the State and the Church.

His vehemence and determination to oppose the Tractarians who had taken control of the National Society, was the main reason why he began to argue for this cooperation. At first the stance was surprising and controversial. In retrospect it seems to be far more reasonable and forward looking than the attitude adopted by his opponents in the National Society. In 1848 Close was one of the first to advocate compromise between the Voluntary bodies run by the Churches and the Government. This eventually became the Dual System, when the first Education Act was passed in 1870, which has survived to the present day. It is therefore something of a paradox that it provides yet another example of Close's influence and power as a controversialist.

State aid to education in England and Wales began in 1833 with a £20,000 grant distributed to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society for school buildings. The Committee of the Privy council for Education was set up in 1839 to provide government aid and regular inspection of schools. The success of this arrangement was due to a large extent to the outstanding ability of the first secretary Dr. James Phillips Kay (1839-49) who was known as Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth after 1842. After 1833 Close took full advantage of government grants to the National Society

when building new schools. He supported proposals by the Committee of the Privy Council for the appointment of laymen as managers of schools between 1846-1848 and for the inspection of schools (1847).

Whilst the Tractarians opposed these measures Close supported them because they limited clerical control over education. Of the Management Clause he said "I see a machinery well adapted to counteract the high priestly notions which Mr Denison and those whom he represents, would rivet upon the church and country they know as well as I do that the government measures fully carried out will be fatal to Tractarianism throughout the land".¹

As Tractarian influence spread amongst the clergy Close relied increasingly on lay involvement in Church matters to act as a counter force. The rules and regulations for the training college which were drafted by Close and passed unanimously at the provisional meeting of the Church of England Training Schools Association on 26th September 1845 (a fortnight before Newman's apostasy), are an extreme example of this. The management and control of the proposed college was to be vested in one hundred governors, half of whom were to be clergymen and the other half laymen and members of the Church of England. This number was increased to two hundred, half clergy, half lay at the next meeting on October 21st² (eleven days after Newman's apostasy). The extraordinarily large size of the governing body was intended to "afford a guarantee to pious persons that the teaching in this college shall be of no doubtful sort."³ The idea being that even if some governors were influenced by Tractarian ideas, their apostasy would be contained and rendered ineffective by

¹*Cheltenham Journal*, 27th November 1848.

²Minutes of the Training School, 26th September and 21st October 1845

³Close, F., , "Co-operation with the Committee of Council on Education Vindicated and Recommended," 1848, p.63.

sheer weight of numbers.

In 1847 Close supported the Education Committee's proposals for the inspection of schools and wrote:

"I hope that every intelligent and pious clergyman and layman will immediately put every school, infant, national or parochial, with which he is connected, under Government inspection in order that the low standard of education in most of our schools may be raised and that their masters and mistresses may be certified and qualified to take pupil teachers."¹

By contrast Denison wrote to the Rev. Henry Bellairs H.M.I., "I love you very much; but if you ever come here again to inspect, I lock the door of the school and tell the boys to put you in the pond."²

In 1848, the year that Close withdrew from the National Society he published the pamphlet *Cooperation with the Committee of Council on Education Vindicated and Recommended*. In it he argued for compromise in order to obtain state aid because the task confronting the Voluntary bodies was so enormous. To those powerful groups who were opposed to state aid for education he pointed out the need for speedy action:

"If we are to wait until the governments are thoroughly Christian, and act only on Christian principles before we can in any way be lawfully connected with them in religious matters, then we must wholly abandon the principle of the union of Church and State, and despair of any good object being achieved on a large scale."³

Opponents who refused to compromise included Dissenting groups such as the Congregationalists and Unitarians, Archdeacon Denison and the Tractarians and

¹Cheltenham Journal, August 9th 1847.

²Smith, F., *The Life and Works of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 1923, p.188.

³Close, F., *Co-operation Recommended*, 1848, op. cit., p.41.

some Evangelicals who were concerned about receiving aid from a government which was prepared to give support equally to Protestants, Papists and Dissenters.

Close argued that an entirely voluntary system could no longer cope with the task of educating the country:

" The unassisted voluntary principle is a fickle, uncertain, incompetent principle, without a regulating power, patchy and uneven, capricious and vacillating and thoroughly unequal to the enormous task now required of the Christian and Philanthropist."¹

He recognised that even in Cheltenham where he had built up a system of parochial schools, which almost kept pace with the growth of the population, there were never enough regular subscribers to maintain the schools throughout each year. In 1834 there were only 117 annual subscribers to the National Schools out of a population of 23,000.² More serious still was the fall in Church rates from sevenpence-halfpenny to three halfpence in the pound between 1831 and 1845. He knew from long experience that school managers had to fight a constant battle to raise sufficient funds. This lead him to condemn the idea that the voluntary schools could continue to operate alone, as the Tractarians suggested. His exposure of the shortcomings of voluntarism is remarkable considering his previous work in raising funds for voluntary schools, especially as his work to raise money for the Training Institutions was at its height at that time. During the year 1847-48 he raised £7,000 by his deputation work to Evangelical groups in towns all over Britain. However, his own success in raising large sums by voluntary means did not affect his judgement that cooperation with the government in return for regular financial assistance was imperative. Perhaps he was thinking of his own extensive work when he wrote, "the dark and dismal masses of ignorance in our towns, and the widely scattered and

¹Platts and Hainton, *op.cit.*, p.54.

²Close, F., 1848, *Co-operation Recommended*, *op.cit.*, p.16.

degraded rustic population utterly defy the feeble efforts of a few isolated individuals."¹

When he recommended cooperation with the Committee of Council on Education Close drew a great deal from his recent experience in establishing the Training Institutions in Cheltenham. Much of the pamphlet gives details of the aims of the foundation and the training methods which were being used, including the importance of model schools and gallery lessons.² At the same time he was acutely aware of the financial advantages to be gained from the Pupil Teacher system which was introduced by the Minutes in Council in 1846. These new government grants gave the voluntary bodies a freedom which had not been known before. Henceforth the maintenance of the institution was "no longer dependent upon the tedious decisions of committees of societies, the boon is received directly from the government officials; and there is not, nor can there be the slightest interference with the religious convictions of those who accept the assistance."³

Much of his deputation work for the Training Institutions at Cheltenham was carried out in the knowledge that the Pupil Teacher System would provide the bulk of necessary finance to maintain the institution within a few years of its foundation. He used this argument to encourage supporters to give donations towards the building fund. In 1847 he wrote:

"Such is the nature of the working of these Minutes of Council, that if a temporary sacrifice can be made and this large sum be once raised and the Institution brought into full operation, an annual income in subscriptions of about £500 will maintain it although its expenditure may be £3,000 per annum."⁴

¹ibid, p.16.

²ibid, p.57.

³ibid, p.28.

⁴C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.34.

The temporary sacrifice to which he referred was to raise an additional sum of £2,000 to £3,000 in order to meet the standards required by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education so that the Institution would be eligible for Government grant.

When he addressed the first annual meeting of the auxiliary branch of the Church of England Education Society in November 1854 the Cheltenham Training College was already drawing 40% of its income from government grants; two years later that proportion had risen to 79%. When student fees were added it had practically begun, in Close's words "to swim for itself." This was only made possible because the College had met the standards required by the government and was open to inspection. From this experience Close argued that the same conditions for grant ought to apply generally to schools for the poor.

At this point, when we find Close advocating the provision of education for all and stating that it should be of the highest possible standard even for children of the poor, the paradox that it provides an example of Close as a controversialist seems hard to sustain. However, this thesis maintains that the main reason for the foundation of the Training Institutions at Cheltenham was Close's own concern about the growth of Tractarian influence generally and his desire to perpetuate his Evangelical beliefs on a national scale. Also that this was only possible because of the special situation which he had created in Cheltenham by that time, making it an Evangelical stronghold and an educational centre.

His religious and educational ideas are discussed in Part 4. This shows that his plans for teacher training and opinions about education as a whole were controversial enough at that time. But this is not the reason why they have been included here as examples of Close as a controversialist.

No. If his work and his opinions at this time are considered together it

becomes apparent that he was using every means and every argument at his disposal to promote the Training Institutions and to defend them against his opponents. This applies to his extensive deputation work to muster support, to his pamphlet recommending cooperation with the Committee of Council on Education, when many others in the Church of England would not cooperate, and to his speeches at numerous meetings including those of the Church of England Education Society. All of this work which engrossed so much of his energy was controversial. It was carried through in the face of determined opposition. Close confessed that the Training College was his most cherished scheme. He told the assembled staff and students:

"There is no sect, no series of acts of labour and love in which I have been engaged in my ministry among you that I look upon with such profound gratitude, with such enlarged expectations."¹ To sum up, "The real memorial to Close is the Cheltenham Training College for teachers which is a monument to the controversialist attitude of Victorian Evangelicals."²

"In so far as that College continues to be controversial Close continues to live."³

¹Sermon at St. Paul's Church, Cheltenham on behalf of the Training College. *Cheltenham Journal*, January 8th 1853.

²Berwick, *Theology*, op.cit., p.284.

³Berwick, *Close of Cheltenham*, 1938, op.cit., p.28.

PART 4

The Religious Beliefs and Educational Ideas of the Rev. Francis Close**1. His Brand of Evangelicalism**

The foundation of the Training Institutions in Cheltenham was the culmination of Close's work during a ministry of thirty-two years. For a long time Close had been aware of the need for properly trained teachers and involved in their training. His interest and wholehearted involvement in the work of the College was therefore, to some extent, a logical continuation of his interest in education. In particular his educational philosophy, his view that teacher training should aim to produce a trained mind and his ideas about the most appropriate and efficient teaching methods were important in themselves. They provided a strong element of continuity in the way training was perceived by the management and officers of the College, and also by the students, for many years to come.¹ This however, is only one aspect of the foundation as the culmination of Close's work in Cheltenham.

Sir Robert Ensor argues that it is impossible for anyone to understand Victorian England "who does not appreciate that among highly civilized countries it was one of the most religious that the world has known."²

This view applies in full measure to Cheltenham in 1845. By that time it had become an Evangelical stronghold. Gladstone, looking back, thought it was the most Evangelical town in England during the first half of the nineteenth century.³ Evangelicals attached a special importance to education, and by 1845 Cheltenham was

¹Collins, J., 1985, op.cit., p.270, see page 1

²Ensor, R., *England 1870-1914, Oxford History of England*, Vol.14. Quoted by Cowie, L.W., Religion, Methuen, 1973, p.vi.

³Berwick, G.F., 1938, op.cit., p.1.

an important educational centre. To a large extent this was all the result of Close's work.

Furthermore his concern about the spread of Tractarian ideas and ritualistic practices within the Church of England made Cheltenham a suitable place at which these developments could be countered in a positive way. By 1845 many Evangelicals felt that their religious beliefs might not be safeguarded at those teacher training colleges which already existed. This was particularly important to Close and his circle of friends at that time.

The Cheltenham training institution was therefore founded with a specific religious aim: to preserve and promote the type of Evangelical Anglicanism in which Close and his friends believed in 1845. This was clearly defined in the resolutions which were passed at the inaugural meeting which was attended by Close, eight of the local Clergy and ten laymen on September 23rd 1845. On that occasion they called themselves "The Friends of Scriptural Education through the Medium of the Established Church" and resolved:

1. "That an institution for the training of pious Masters and Mistresses upon Scriptural and Evangelical principles in connection with the Church of England is urgently called for at the present time.

2. "That this meeting, having heard the reasons assigned by friends in different parts of the country for the selection of Cheltenham as the place where the effort shall be made, for the establishment of such a training school, unanimously consents to the proposal"¹

The aim in the first resolution was confirmed at a meeting of the Provisional Committee on September 26th when rules and regulations were drawn up. These were

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, op.cit., p.24.

passed at a slightly larger general meeting on October 21st.

1. "That this institution should be denominated *Church of England Training School Association*.

2. "That the object of this institution is to instruct pious persons as Masters and Mistresses upon Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant principles in accordance with the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church."¹

These resolutions and rules were all drafted by Close himself.

Eighteen months later the religious aims of the institution were defined with even more force and the clarity in the Indenture dated April 12th 1848 which conveyed land belonging to Miss Jane Cook to Close and other trustees of the Church of England Training Schools Association. This land became the site for the first College building. It stated that while "the particular mode, plan and scheme of education shall be left freely in the hands of the committee of the said institution in conjunction with the Principal to make such modifications of existing systems or such new plans as may seem expedient.

"It is solemnly intended and purposed that the religious education to be conveyed shall always be **Strictly Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant** and in strict accordance with the **Articles and Liturgy** of the Church of England, as now by law established, in their literal and grammatical sense; and that these principles should for ever be preserved as a most sacred trust at any sacrifice of pecuniary loss or temporal interest."²

This quotation from the original indenture became the foundation trust document which is usually referred to as "the Principle." It is always produced with

¹*St. Paul's College Minute Book*, Vol. 1., C.H. 2/1/1, 1845-1864, p.4.

²Wording and emphasis from the original indenture, CH1.

this emphasis on a number of key words and phrases. The first annual report started the habit of printing them in capitals. All of these words and the principles and beliefs associated with them emerged from the European Reformation during the sixteenth century. To a large extent they are interlinked and dependent upon each other. Together they define all that was central to the brand of Evangelical Anglicanism which Close and his supporters practised at the time. This is made clear by the phrase "as now by law established." The concluding phrase with its stress on preserving these principles for ever at any cost as a sacred trust shows that the Cheltenham Training Institution was founded to defend, promote and perpetuate them. These were the "enlarged expectations" to which Close referred in his sermon at St. Paul's Church in January 1853. The emphasis on perpetuity is re-echoed with true Victorian optimism on the memorial at Francis Close Hall, (formerly the men's department and St. Paul's College), which records Jane Cook's gift of land and £500 and her wish that these Principles should be taught at the College "until the end of time."

The origins and meanings of these words and phrases provide a key to understanding Close's own religious beliefs and his educational philosophy.

The name "Protestant" originated from the action which was taken in 1529 by six German princes and fourteen cities following the second Diet of Speyer. They proclaimed or protested their belief in the Lutheran faith and church, which was based upon the scriptures. This original protest was not so much against the Roman Catholic Church as in favour of the Bible. This fact was forgotten during the wars of religion which followed.

Scriptural came from the principle of *Sola Scriptura*, which Martin Luther declared at the Diet of Worms in 1521. This asserted that "a simple layman armed with the Scripture is to be believed above a Pope or a Council without it." The Articles of the Church of England describe the Bible as "God's Written Word" and

the Evangelicals of the nineteenth century held to this, insisting that the Bible is more than a book written by men. The various authors of the Bible wrote in their own styles according to their own education and backgrounds but they were all inspired by the Holy Spirit. For this reason Evangelicals believed that the authority of Popes, Councils and theologians should be regarded as inferior to that of the Scriptures themselves. This may explain why Close, who accepted the organisation and authority of the Church, was prepared to establish the Training Institution at Cheltenham, without the approval of a single Bishop, not even his own.

The term Evangelical was used to describe the reforming movements which were led by Martin Luther and John Calvin. The most important of their ideas was their belief in justification by faith alone. That individuals could only be saved or made right with God by conversion to belief in Jesus Christ as the all loving, all forgiving Saviour of Mankind. St. Paul explained this in his letter to the Ephesians, Chapter 2 verses 4-10:

"4. But God who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us.

" 5. Even when we were dead in sins hath quickened us together with Christ, (by Grace ye are saved;)

"6. And hath raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.....

"8. For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.

"9. Not of works, lest any man should boast.

"10. For we are his workmanship created in Jesus Christ unto good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them."¹

¹*The Holy Bible, Authorised Version, New Testament, O.U.P., p.211.*

The Authorized version of the Bible has been quoted here because Close would have used it, though the meaning of the passage is more easy to understand in the Revised English Bible. However the key passage is virtually the same in both versions: "It is through grace that you have been saved through faith; not by anything of your own, but by a gift from God."¹

This doctrine was central to the Protestant faith outlined by Martin Luther. In his account of his studies, he describes his feelings, when he understood the true meaning of one of St. Paul's letters:

"At last I began to understand the justice of God as that by which the just man lives by the gift of God, that is to say by faith, and this sentence "the justice of God is revealed in the Gospel to be understood passively that by which the merciful God justifies by faith At this I felt myself to have been born again and to have entered through open gates into paradise itself."²

In 1738 John Wesley rediscovered justification by faith alone as an almost forgotten Anglican doctrine. Above all he realized that it was scriptural. He gives an account of the personal experience which he had in his journal for 24th May 1738:

"About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sin, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."³

After this experience Wesley proclaimed salvation by faith throughout Britain and North America but it was the organization which he set up which kept his converts faithful and which led to their separation from the Church of England soon

¹*The Holy Bible. Revised English Version.*

²*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol.14, p.438.

³*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol.23, p.415.

after his death in 1791. Wesley had set out "to reform the nation, more particularly the Church, and to spread Scriptural Holiness over the land." He never intended to set up a separate Church and until his death, regarded himself as a loyal priest of the Church of England.

From this central idea of justification by faith, sprang the belief that the individual Christian believer could form a personal relationship with God. When Wesley felt his heart strangely warmed it was as though the Holy Spirit had entered his soul. From then on he shared all of his experiences with Christ. He called this the religion of the heart and the spirit. Faith that the Holy Spirit works through believers is essential to all Evangelical religion. Just as the Holy Spirit had inspired the authors of the Bible so that same Holy Spirit could speak personally to the individual believer, guiding his thoughts and actions. Some of the early Christian writers had borne witness to this power, and this belief was re-established by the Protestant reformers including Cranmer. William Wilberforce (1759-1833) expressed this idea in his book "*A Practical View*"¹ which was published in 1797. After his conversion Wilberforce devoted much of the rest of his life to concern for the eternal welfare of his friends and the abolition of slavery.

The Anglican Evangelicals drew much of their inspiration from Wesley. They shared the same insistence upon the need for personal conversion and acceptance of Christ; they believed in the power of fervent preaching and made great use of hymn singing. They tried to maintain a plain faith and simple acts of worship, avoiding excessive ceremonial and ornament because they believed that these distracted from the main aim of worship which was intended to draw men and women to Christ.

However, although they owed a great deal to Wesley they were quite separate

¹Full title - A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher & Middle Classes of this Country, Contrasted With Real Christianity.

from the Non-Conformist churches because they remained within the Church of England where they formed a distinct party or group. Simeon, whose influence on Close has already been noted, developed principles which gave cohesion and stability to the Evangelical party. These may be summarized briefly as "first, the realized holiness of God; second, the enjoyment of God's forgiveness; third, the proved experience that gratitude to God for his goodness and the expression of devotion in service could surely be made within the circle of the Church of England."¹

The most important of these principles was loyalty to the established Church. "It was Simeon, who, more than any other single individual, taught the younger Evangelicals to love the Church of England and enabled them to feel they belonged within her body."²

This loyalty was based not upon a belief in systems of organization or deference to hierarchies of Archbishops and Bishops but on the conviction that the Church of England is the great bulwark of the Protestant faith which began at the Reformation. As a result, the Anglican Evangelicals came to regard themselves as the only true successors of the Reformation settlement. Simeon argued that churches and systems might be imperfect: "God has not revealed his truth in a system as such", he said. When in doubt he urged his followers to look for guidance in the Bible and the formularies of the Church of England.

As a result of their loyalty to the established Church and their belief that they were the true successors of the Reformation settlement, the Evangelicals laid great stress on the importance of the 39 Articles and the Liturgy. They looked upon the Articles as a straightforward explanation of Christian doctrine which came directly from the Reformation. For Close, as for Simeon, the Bible and the Anglican

¹Warren, M., "An Essay on Charles Simeon, M.A. 1759-1836, Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity Church Cambridge", Church Book Room Press Ltd., p.14.

²Smyth, C., 1940, opus.cit. p.311.

formularies were complementary. He believed that the Bible must always come first: "The Church of England is truly scriptural, she is built upon the word of God, and that is her proper ground of glorying;..... that she rests on eternal truth and stands and falls with the everlasting word of God."¹

However, the Prayer Book came next "and all other books in subordination to both."² This gave the ministers of the Church of England an advantage over Non-Conformers and it was this which distinguished the Anglican Evangelicals from those in the dissenting churches: "Because in addition to the scriptures they have other authorities to which they may refer in confirmation of the truths they utter the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church of England are an authorized exposition of the sense in which all her members profess to understand the scriptures. To these therefore, we appeal as well as to the sacred records."³

Simeon regarded the Liturgy as "a composition of unrivalled excellence"⁴ which provided nothing less than a glimpse of heaven. He said "a congregation uniting fervently in the prayers of our Liturgy would afford as complete a picture of heaven as ever yet was beheld on earth."⁵ Speaking of his own conversion which took place when he attended services in King's College Chapel in April 1779, he said "I know from my own experience at this hour, that no prayers in the world could be better suited to our wants, or more delightful to our souls."⁶

Close recalled that Simeon used to say that the standard of the Liturgy was based "on the sound Reformation principles which breath in every line of her Prayer Book and Articles", and that it was Simeon's "desire that everything he had ever

¹Close, F., 1836, "The Protestant Faith" or *The Way Called Heresy*, p.5.

²Corrected Report of the speeches delivered on Monday 31st March 1845, op.cit., p.15.

³Machin G.I., 1977, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-1868*, OUP, p. 20.

⁴Brown, *Conversation Parties*, op.cit. p.11.

⁵Close, *The Present State of the Parties*, op.cit. p.32.

⁶ibid., p.32.

written or ever should write, should be brought to the test of the Liturgy of the Church of England, being persuaded of its perfect conformity to Holy Scripture."¹

It was this regard for the Book of Common Prayer which bound Simeon and the other Evangelicals to the Church of England as loyal servants. This provided Close with a model which he adhered to throughout his life and which he prescribed in strict unequivocal terms for the Cheltenham Training Institution. The education there was to be in strict accordance with the 39 Articles, which codified English Protestantism and the Liturgy, which was one of the defining characteristics of the Church. From 1820 onwards, Evangelical Churchmen, especially Close, had been concerned to defend the establishment and to promote the union of Church and State. As a national college, which was not associated with any diocese, the Cheltenham Institution was in a delicate situation. The first Evangelical foundation for teacher training "The Home and Colonial College", had suffered considerably during its early years from the suspicion amongst Anglicans that it was too close to dissent.² The wording of the foundation trust document tried to ensure that there could never be any doubt at all about the Cheltenham Institution's allegiance to the Church of England.

Because they accepted the organization, the doctrines and the formularies of the established church, the Evangelicalism of Close and his congregations during the nineteenth century must not be confused with what is regarded as Evangelicalism today, and which became popular in the later Victorian period. This type of Evangelicalism is associated with emotionally charged campaigns to be "saved" and to surrender all to Christ. Mass rallies and pressure techniques (apart, perhaps from the Sermon) were not at all characteristic of the Evangelicals within the Church of

¹ibid., ps. 46-7.

²McCann, P., and Young, F., "Samuel Wilderspin and the Infant School Movement", p.193. Quoted in More, C., 1992, op.cit., p.13.

England in 1845. They believed that if the Gospel were proclaimed in the correct way as laid down by Act of Parliament, that it would be sufficient for the salvation of souls.

Finally, the Anglican Evangelicals should not be confused with those fundamentalists who took an extremely literal view of the Scriptures. They believed that the Bible was divinely inspired but that its meaning could be interpreted in many different ways. Some Evangelicals were amongst the first to accept that the story of the creation as told in the Book of Genesis was not scientifically possible. In fact, respect for science and a desire to promote scientific study was high on the list of priorities, when the curriculum of the new training institutions was drawn up.

The campaign which the Evangelicals, led by Wilberforce conducted against the slave trade helped to rouse their concern for missionary work overseas. The two missionary societies which already existed and were supported by the Church of England, confined their efforts to North America and the West Indies. These were the S.P.C.K. (f. 1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (f.1701). The Evangelicals felt that it was important to make redress to Africa for the evils of the slave trade and founded the Church Missionary Society in 1799. This became the largest of all the missionary societies because it did not restrict its work to Africa alone. It was controlled exclusively by the Evangelicals. Other societies which they controlled were the Church Missions to Jews (f.1809), The Colonial and Continental Church Society (f.1838), The Church Pastoral Aid Society (f.1836), and the Newfoundland School Society for the Education of the Poor (f.1823). This last society was set up by Samuel Codner (1776-1858), an Evangelical merchant who traded with North America from Dartmouth in Devon. It was Codner who wrote the initial letter (August 1845), which proposed that the Training Institutions should be established in Cheltenham.

Nor was this all. Other societies were established as the result of Evangelical initiative but Non-Conformists were allowed to participate equally. The most important of these were the Religious Tract Society (f.1799) and The British and Foreign Bible Society (f.1804).

Auxiliary branches of these societies met regularly in Cheltenham where Close and his friends gave them their wholehearted support.¹

In addition to missionary work the Evangelicals resembled the Methodists in their commitment to social action. Wesley called himself "God's Steward of the Poor", insisting that good works and disciplined conduct should follow from the knowledge of personal salvation. He believed that holiness implied good works, which if not an essential pre-requisite for salvation (since this was entirely dependent upon faith in Christ), were certainly a post-requisite. Good works gave authenticity to the whole process of justification. The Anglican Evangelicals inherited this legacy and their record was impressive by any standard. Not only did it include the abolition of the slave trade, pioneered by Wilberforce; mining and factory acts campaigned for by Shaftesbury; School and College Building, initiated by Close and many others; the development of nursing and public health associated with Florence Nightingale, but campaigns for temperance and prison reform, prison visiting, the provision of "ragged schools", orphanages and child care and concern to improve the status of women.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, Wilberforce set an example for the Evangelicals of the power of personal religion. He was converted in 1786, and began the anti-slavery campaign in the following year. The slave trade was abolished in 1807. His example was matched by Lord Shaftesbury during the second half of the century. Shaftesbury (1801-1885), who was known as Lord Ashley for most of his life,

¹See above, pp. 37-39.

was the acknowledged leader of the Evangelicals and his work for mining and factory reforms, for health and education is well-known. Shaftesbury was also the President of the Church of England Training School Association from 1845-84 and laid the foundation stone of the first college buildings in Cheltenham.

Shaftesbury told his biographer that it was his opinion that if a man's religion was worth anything (it) should enter into every sphere of life and rule his conduct in every relation. When he laid the foundation stone of the College for men at Cheltenham on 19th April 1849, he exhorted his audience to commit themselves to social action and pointed out that " There never was a time at which so many opportunities were offered for good I will defy you to go over the pages of history and tell me the time when there were greater times for doing good, more agents to be found for every excellent work and more opportunities under God's providence for extending the field of such operations." At the end of his speech the Principal, the Rev. C.H. Bromby called for three rousing cheers from the assembled students and then added "and one more for the friend of the factories".¹ The Ten Hour Factory Bill had been passed two years earlier.

To sum up, Close's religious beliefs included justification by faith, biblicalism, personal religion and social action. Like the other Anglican Evangelicals of his day, he had a particular regard for the Bible and activism was implicit in all his work including the foundation of the Training Institution itself. Because he accepted the Evangelical principle that a Christian should strive in this world,² he devoted a large part of his life to social action. In the end Close may have felt that this work was necessary for his own salvation. Whilst St. Paul wrote of salvation "by grace through faith", thus laying stress on "grace", the Evangelicals always spoke of

¹Cheltenham Journal, 30th April 1849.

²Bebbington, D., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1989, p.3.

"justification by faith", laying stress on faith. This emphasis on faith implied that the Christian's response was very important. The Bible clearly states that justification is all God's doing and that conversion and faith are alone necessary for salvation. However, the intense interest which the Evangelicals took in striving to do good suggests that they really believed that they were going to be saved by their works as St. James maintained "by works a man is justified and not by faith only."¹ Quite apart from any conscious belief in salvation by works, his own experience and membership of Evangelical organizations impelled Close to a lifetime of social action. For example, his constant chairmanship of "tedious committees"² was one aspect of his striving which is particularly relevant here³.

During the early years of Close's incumbency at Cheltenham the organization of the Evangelicals was haphazard and sparse. Close recalled that when he was a curate at Kingsbury in 1822 there were "not above a dozen clergymen in London who would own to the name of Evangelical preachers. Then and for years subsequently, there was no such thing as an Evangelical party, because there were not men enough of the same stamp to form a party Our great Evangelical societies were in their infancy; the principles were sown and were growing, and did increase and multiply; but the harvest was not yet."⁴

Until 1831 the organization of the Evangelical party within the Church of England originated from two sources. These were the Rev. Charles Simeon (1759-1836), Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge (1783-1836), who founded the Simeon Trust in 1817 and an informal group of wealthy and influential people who worshipped under John Venn, the Evangelical rector of Clapham Church (1725-1797).

¹The Epistle of James, CH2, verse 24.

²See p.36.

³See p 36.

⁴The Times, 6th February 1879, p.9.

At that time Clapham was a fashionable village just outside London and this group became known as the "Clapham Sect."

The influence which Simeon exercised on generations of undergraduates at Cambridge, including Close, has already been noted, also the way he identified suitable individuals and sent them out as missionaries or to livings which he had purchased through the Simeon Trust.¹ His long term objective predates the foundation trust deed and Jane Cook's memorial but the sentiments are identical: "Others purchase income", he said, "I purchase spheres, wherein the prosperity of the Established Church and the Kingdom of our blessed Lord may be advanced; and not for a season only, but if it please God, in perpetuity also."² The part which Simeon played in the growth of Evangelicalism should not be underestimated.

"As to Simeon, if you knew what his authority and influence were and how they extended from Cambridge to the most remote corners of England, you would allow that his real sway in the Church was far greater than any primate."³

Apart from Simeon and his Cambridge men, the most important group of Evangelicals belonged to the Clapham Sect. They included Wilberforce, who was famous for the campaign against the slave trade, Lord Teignmouth, a retired Governor of India, Charles Grant, Chairman of the East India Company, James Stephen, a prominent Member of Parliament and Zachary Macaulay, a retired Colonial Governor. All were wealthy and influential persons. In 1844 Zachary Macaulay's son, the future Lord Macaulay commented:-

"The truth is that from that little knot of men emanated all the Bible Societies, and almost all the missionary societies in the world. The whole organization of the Evangelical party was their work. The share which they had in providing means for

¹See pp. 24-26.

²Warren, M., op.cit., ps. 15-16.

³Trevelyan, G., "The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay" 1890, pp. 49-50 quoted in Cowie, L.W., op. cit., p.14.

the education of the people was great. They were really the destroyers of the slave trade and of slavery. Many of them were public men, of the greatest weight."¹

At first Clapham, which provided the impetus for the numerous missionary societies and philanthropic causes which they had at heart, provided the Evangelicals with a centre for their organizations and fund raising. After a time however, the societies began to suffer from the lack of a central base. This was provided when Exeter Hall was purchased in 1831. From then on until 1907 it became the centre for their vast range of activities. It has been estimated that by the second half of the nineteenth century, as many as three quarters of all voluntary organizations were in Evangelical hands.² Exeter Hall, in the Strand, provided the societies with central offices and halls for their meetings. Delegates from the numerous auxiliary branches, throughout the country travelled up to the Annual General Meetings which were held between the end of April and the middle of June each year. Sometimes as many as twenty-two separate meetings were held there in a single day.³ Close attended the Annual General Meetings of the Church Missionary Society which were held there between 1839-1867 and regularly appeared on the platform.⁴ He also preached the anniversary sermon in May 1841.⁵

Lord Ashley, later Lord Shaftesbury, frequently presided at meetings of this kind including a meeting of the Church of England Training School Association which was held at Exeter Hall on 25th March 1847. This meeting was attended by Close and Bromby (later the first Principal of the Cheltenham College), and "a very influential body of laity and clergy." Those assembled voted to advertise for support (thus making their intentions public for the first time), and to seek Government aid in

¹ibid.

²Heasman, K., 1962, *Evangelicals in Action*, pp. 13-14.

³Cowie, L.W., "Exeter Hall", *History Today*, June 1968, p.392.

⁴Stock, E., 1899, "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p.262.

⁵ibid. p.289.

accordance with the minutes in council of 1846.¹ By that time the Evangelicals were a well organized party. The support which they gave at this meeting to plans for a new Training Institution in Cheltenham was vital because it encouraged Close and his committee to proceed. No doubt this was part of the "harvest" which he looked back on in 1879.

From that date the Church of England Training School Association tried to adopt the organization of a typical Evangelical society, except that its annual general meetings were always held in Cheltenham. Close travelled to Evangelical strongholds all over Britain, where he addressed meetings and congregations and raised funds. His intention was to establish a network of corresponding committees which would support the work of the executive committee in Cheltenham just as the auxiliary committees in various centres supported the national Evangelical societies in London. In this work his success was limited but it was sufficient to ensure that the project succeeded in the face of widespread opposition and misrepresentation. The corresponding committee which was formed in Bristol and Clifton in June 1847 was particularly important because it was well organized and had eighty-two subscribers.²

2. Close's Educational Ideas

Close wrote extensively on education. Through his publications and deputation work he became the educational spokesman of the Evangelical party. His views about the education of the poor at infant and National schools on the training of teachers for these schools and on the controversial question of government involvement in education, through grants and inspection, were particularly important. In these areas his ideas were well in advance of their time. At Cheltenham he developed education

¹First Annual Report, p.21.

²C.H. 4/1/1.3, 1850, p.X11.

at all levels for all classes of society. He was no mere theorist. His educational ideas were firmly based on his religious beliefs but they were tempered by years of experience of raising money, supervising new building, appointing head teachers, examining infant classes in scripture knowledge and presiding at the annual meetings of the numerous schools which he had founded.

In common with most Evangelicals of that time, he believed that education was important because it had a moral value in its own right. Also literacy was vital as the key to Bible study. John Venn of Clapham expressed this idea in 1804:

"Man cannot by education be made a real Christian: but by education he may be freed from prejudices and delivered from the dominion of his dispositions highly favourable to temptation and sin."¹

Close frequently expressed the view that education would bring about almost unlimited improvements in society. In 1827 he forecast that "infant schools will be found to be the most effective engine of national improvement that has ever been brought to bear ..."²

At the inaugural meeting to mark the start of classes in practical science at Cheltenham Grammar School in 1853, he said that he had looked on them "as the dawn of better days, days of improvement, days of brotherhood and harmony, days of less political malignity, than those which had gone before." His reason for hoping this was the conviction that as men's minds became better informed and better trained; as they engaged in more ennobling pursuits and as they cultivated more the mental and intellectual qualities, so would they become more generous, more truly liberal, more influenced by those feelings which would bring about political harmony."³

¹Bebbington D., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1989, p.123.

²See page 46.

³The Cheltenham Free Press and Gloucester Herald, April 9th 1853.

Lord Ashley had been even more optimistic when he laid the foundation stone of the college for men in 1849. He concluded his speech as follows:

"Depend upon it, it is reserved under God's providence for this great Kingdom, not only to be great in arts, in science and in arms, but great as HIS instrument for the diffusion of HIS truth for the regeneration of mankind to expedite the time when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."¹

Whilst belief in the value of education was quite common at that time, particularly if it provided for the children of the wealthier classes, Close's dedication to the cause of education for the poor was unusual. His assertion that they should be provided with the best possible type of education by well educated and well trained teachers was contentious in the extreme.

Amongst the wealthier classes most people were in favour of a very limited type of education for the poor. They held the view that anything more than a bare minimum was unnecessary. More than this might lead to discontent, civil disturbances, even revolution. 1848 was a year of revolutions in Europe. It is not surprising that a staunch Conservative like Close should choose "The Sin and Danger of Rebellion" as the subject for his fifth of November sermon in that year. Nevertheless his pamphlet *Co-operation with the Committee of Council on Education Vindicated and Recommended*, published in 1848, urged all members of the Church of England to cooperate with the Government by helping to establish a national system of education. In his introduction to this publication Close showed that he had a clear understanding of some of the most important educational issues at that time. He argued that the amount of moral, spiritual and intellectual destitution in the country

¹Cheltenham Journal, 30th April 1849.

was appalling and increasing rapidly, that voluntary societies could no longer cope with the task of providing schools for the masses. At the same time the assistance which the Government was offering was of exactly the right kind and degree to generate the energies of the country to secure a national system of education. Also he was confident that the fears of some churchmen that the government intended to interfere with religious teaching were groundless. These considerations had all been confirmed and strengthened by the experience which had been gained in founding the training schools in Cheltenham.

Close argued that indifference or opposition to the movement for mass education was the worst enemy of progress and that this arose from an unconscious and rarely expressed prejudice against education for the working class. He devoted quite a large section of his pamphlet to arguments in favour of education for all. First he identified and described the problem: "There is a deep seated hereditary traditionary prejudice still lingering in the minds of many persons who are in other respects pious and enlightened, that education in the broadest acceptation of the term is a very doubtful boon for the working classes."¹

Close believed that all the objections to school improvements and the minute details of the government plan could be traced to this "evil source." The commonly held view that "Ignorance or the minimum of information or cultivation of the mind compatible with the bare acquaintance with the way of salvation and the power of just spelling out the letters of the Bible"² was supposed to be sufficient for the working classes. For example, a labourer who knew that the sun did not really rise and set, who could explain that the earth was round would be considered "rather a dangerous person", and a labourer who had mastered the four rules of arithmetic and who had

¹Close F., *Co-operation Recommended*, 1848, op. cit., p.48.

²ibid.

learned geography "would be regarded as a rural Scavan, a person never likely to follow the plough, nor to do his duty."¹

As for the training of teachers for the lower classes Close explained "that the children of these rustics should be taught by a master who can work a difficult problem in mathematics - who is well acquainted with history, or the physical sciences, appears to such persons as a profuse squandering of knowledge."² He recognised that these views were more frequently felt than expressed but that they were hidden in the minds of many good people. Until they were "dislodged" support for the proposals which had been made for the training of teachers could not be expected. He therefore tried to dislodge these prejudices, attacking them, not by arguing for the rights of man but on moral and religious grounds alone. "*The rights of man* are not here to be contended for," he said, "yet observation cannot be withheld, that if it were wise and politic to hope to govern the masses by keeping them in a state of ignorance *we have no right to do so!* We have as much right to cripple the bodies of their children, lest they should afterwards use their limbs against the wealthier classes, as we have to cramp and fetter their understandings and keep them in ignorance lest they should turn their knowledge into a weapon against society. God has given mental powers in various degrees to all men; and we have no right to say because you are poor, you should not have the advantages of Education. This is to blight the facilities of God's own creation and to efface one portion of his image which he has stamped on his creature man."³

This moral-religious argument for universal education of a high standard was entirely consistent with Close's religious beliefs. For him the real aim of education

¹ibid., p.49.

²ibid.

³ibid., pp.49-50.

was to prepare children for this world and the next. As far as the next world was concerned he believed that justification by faith would lead to salvation though this was entirely dependent upon God. Education alone could not guarantee salvation. Venn had pointed this out in 1804: "We are not among the number of those empiries who declare that we have but to educate the people in order to make them moral and even godly," he said, "until the Spirit falls on them from on high, your tears and your prayers will be in vain we must never forget that God alone can bless education to the salvation of the people."¹

However, this did not mean that education was not important: "We know that education is the instrument which God has put into our hands, and that we should be careful to use it."²

Education would enlighten the masses so that they were able to understand those who were trying to save them. This was particularly likely to be the case if that education was scriptural and if the teachers were enlightened and spiritually minded men and women.

Close regarded all children as sinners who could be saved. In 1832 he said that the great characteristic feature by which the Cheltenham infant schools could be distinguished was "that they are spiritual and scriptural We assume that these little infants are sinners and we deal with them as such."³ At a time when infant mortality was very high he pointed out that "Divine illumination" and "Heavenly peace" which were promised by God applied equally to children and adults. When he explained that "peaceful and hopeful deathbeds are the real end and object of education,"⁴ he was

¹The Pulpit No. 1399 May 12th 1848. A Sermon by the Rev. F. Close. Divine Teaching Preached in St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row on April 30th 1848, *before making a collection on behalf of the Church of England Training Schools at Cheltenham*, p.354.

²ibid.

³Lecture by Close in the Infant's School Room in Cheltenham 1832.

⁴Cheltenham Journal, August 22nd 1842.

not only carrying his belief in justification by faith to its logical conclusion; he was also drawing on his own personal experiences:

"We have been privileged to witness the deathbeds of little children in our Infant Schools, who have given as clear an evidence, as sweet an assurance, and as blessed a ground of hope, that their souls were "hid with Christ in God", as any of the most aged and experienced Christians, whose departure we have been permitted to behold."¹

Throughout his life Close was particularly opposed to any system of education which was purely secular and excluded religion. The petitions which he organised in 1837 which called for a daily reading from the Authorized Version of the Bible in all schools and his opposition to Lord Brougham's bill in 1839 are evidence of this stance from his early years in Cheltenham. Twenty-six years later as Dean of Carlisle he wrote:

"Secular education without religion and without instruction in Holy Scripture, has proved itself to be preparation alike for the extremes of superstition and of unbelief - as well for popery as for infidelity, and the greatest barrier which can be raised against Romanism is a good Biblical education."²

Because of this he argued that an education which is conducted on Christian principles is "one of the greatest blessings that a people can receive or a government impart."³ If Christians did not provide schools for the poor they would be led astray by "intelligent, wicked men - knaves, traitors and Chartists."⁴ Close had been confronted by local Chartists in his own church in 1839. He believed that just as scriptural education could bring peace to individuals, so it would preserve peace and

¹The Pulpit No. 1399, op. cit., p.357.

²Close F., Footsteps, op. cit., 1863, p.231.

³ibid., p.278.

⁴Close F., Co-operation Recommended, 1848, op. cit., p.51.

the social order for the nation: "If you would have national peace you must have national education; if you would have the people industrious, quiet, humble, contented and patient you must enlighten their ignorant minds, you must teach them the things of God."¹

Yet although he was opposed to an education which was purely secular he became equally opposed to education which was exclusively religious and which neglected the need to prepare pupils for life and work in this world. In 1842, the year of the second Chartist petition, in the same month when Holyoake was imprisoned for blasphemy he argued that religious education alone which tries to "exclude mental culture and secular information is enthusiasm and fanaticism."² What was needed was an educational system which developed the whole personality of the child, imparting secular knowledge in a moral and religious context. This was his idea of true education:

"Let then the libel against mental culture and sound intellectual training, as though it unfitted for manual labour and cheerful honest industry, be banished from our minds. No possible amount of knowledge in the children of the working classes need be feared - no let us put it positively - any amount of intellectual culture and useful secular information will be a blessing and a benefit to themselves, to their native land, to the Church and to the world, if only that knowledge be conveyed, not apart from, but in constant easy and natural connection with moral, scriptural and religious training."³

Close believed that it was possible for religion itself to become too exclusive: "It ought to be the leaven that would leaven the whole lump, and diffuse itself

¹The Pulpit, No. 1399., op. cit., p.357.

²Cheltenham Journal, August 22nd 1842.

³Close F., Co-operation Recommended, 1848, op. cit., pp.53-54.

through all the interests of society."¹ Further, "It is not a certain code of religious doctrines and dogmas inculcated along with a certain amount of secular knowledge - not now a lesson in geography wholly apart from religion, and then a lesson in religion wholly apart from secular information but the beautiful and perfect blending of the whole in one system of moral and spiritual culture, it is this and this only, that is worthy of the name of EDUCATION. The mind, the heart, the imagination, the whole powers of the complex creature called a child, must be stored - rightly directed; and this can be done effectually only by one who, in addition to a certain natural aptitude to teach and the possession of true and fervent piety, flowing from the Spirit of God, through the written word, has been early trained himself in the deep and difficult science of teaching and training others."²

The blended curriculum which was Close's ideal was based on the Bible and the system of teacher training which had developed in Cheltenham by that time: "We wish to take the Bible in hand when we study or teach history, geography, astronomy and political economy. The Bible will not teach English history, but English history taught in the sunlight of scriptural truth will make intelligent, loyal, well affected youths."³

However, his idea that the curriculum should aim to develop the whole potential of the child was also based on his own experience of supervising the Cheltenham Infant Schools. Furthermore, his views on teacher training were greatly influenced by his familiarity with the methods used by David Stow in Glasgow.

Stow's methods were similar to those of Wilderspin whom he had invited to Glasgow to establish the first infant school there in 1828.⁴ He advocated the gallery

¹Cheltenham Journal, March 8th 1850.

²Close F., Co-operation Recommended, 1848, op. cit., p.54.

³Close F., Footsteps, 1863, op. cit., p.280.

⁴McCann P. & Young F., Samuel Wilderspin and the Infant School Movement, 1982, pp. 102. & 107.

method of seating so that the teacher could teach a large group of children without using monitors. The school day was broken up by periods of physical activity in the classroom and playground.

St. James's Infant School in Cheltenham was purpose-built to meet the requirements of these methods. It included a gallery twenty feet deep and a "spacious and secure"¹ playground containing swings and gymnastic apparatus. As a manager of the school Close was impressed by the results obtained by these methods, particularly the gallery which he used when examining the children each year. He pointed out that "Experience and calm practical investigation can alone convince any well informed person of the value of a gallery for children of all ages as a moral, spiritual and intellectual means of improvement."²

Whilst superintendent of the Glasgow Normal Seminary from 1836, Stow trained a large number of teachers; they observed lessons and kept a journal of their observations. Later they taught lessons to the gallery under the scrutiny of tutors and fellow students, who then discussed and criticised each lesson. Close praised this as "the incomparable system of Mr Stow" and said, "There is nothing in the Glasgow system inapplicable to institutions conducted on the same principles of the Church of England - and the sooner the spirit of that system is imbibed in our southern training institutions the more rapidly they will grow to perfection."³

When the Cheltenham Training Institution was founded he ensured that Stow's methods of teacher training were adopted. He was particularly keen to introduce "model" schools, explaining:

"There ought to be an infant, juvenile and upper school connected with every training college - forming as these schools do the basis of the most important part of

¹Lee, A New Guide. 1837, p.152.

²Close, F., 1848, Co-operation Recommended, op. cit., p.57.

³ Ibid.

the training of students. Here it is that the future masters are trained to teach; here they conduct gallery lessons in the presence of the Principal and in the presence of each other; and when the children are dismissed the students themselves take their places in the gallery and mutually instruct each other, under the eye of the training master or principal."¹

In addition to these specific methods of teaching and training Close placed great emphasis on professional skills in general. The real task of the training college was to ensure that the student knew how to teach: "Would that they had all knowledge and on every subject, but I hold that the science of imparting knowledge and of training minds and forming character and managing schools, should be the first, the chiefest and the most important part of the acquirements in a training college."²

The emphasis which Close gave to "the science of teaching" ensured that Stow's methods were adopted at Cheltenham. The tendency was reinforced by the appointment of staff who had been trained by Stow. The most notable of these was John Gill (1817-1910) who was master of method at Cheltenham for thirty-eight years (1851-1889). As a result, within a few years of its foundation, Cheltenham had acquired a reputation for pedagogy which set it apart from the other Training Colleges as the one most often praised by the inspectorate. The Rev. H. Moseley's report on the college in 1850 is typical:

"Nothing has more excited my surprise in the inspection of training schools than the comparative neglect of all that belongs to the professional education of the teacher. The lectures specially directed to this object (if there be any) are generally assigned to a subordinate place in the course and entrusted to an inferior officer. The

¹Ibid. pp. 55, 56

²Educational Commission. Answers to the Circular of Questions, 1860, Vol. V, 1861, pp.126-127.

elementary school is too much left out of the view of the training school To this remark, as well as to many others, bearing unfavourably on the present state of training schools, I must make an exception of that at Cheltenham." He went on to comment favourably on the attention bestowed there on the science of teaching and "the resolute subordination observable of every other subject however specious and attractive."¹

The Cheltenham Training Institution was founded with a specific religious purpose. The threat of Popery in 1845 had changed Close's attitude towards the National Society and prompted the foundation of the Church of England Training Schools Association. At first this new organisation planned to set up a fairly small but independent college for Evangelicals who had been concerned about Tractarian influence within all of the National Society's institutions.² Close was especially critical of the National Society's colleges in London and wrote "I would just as soon send a youth to be instructed in the Vatican at once, as to one of the National Society's training schools, to be instructed in the doctrine of the Church of England."³

Quite apart from this however, by 1845 Close was well aware that there was a desperate need for teachers who had been well trained. His own experience with Sunday School and day school teachers had made him very aware of their inadequacies. Speaking of Sunday School teachers he said, "We have in too many instances sent and employed men and women to teach others who were ignorant themselves. It is a self-evident truth that a man cannot teach another what he does

¹Special Report for the year 1850 by H.M.I. the Rev. H. Moseley on the national Society's and the Diocesan Training Schools for Schoolmasters, Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for 1850-51, pp. 46 & 56. Quoted in the Fifth Annual Report, 1852, College Archives, chap. 4.

²See p.91.

³Close F., National Education. Training Schools for Masters and Mistresses. Speech of the Rev. F. Close at a public meeting held at Ipswich on Monday 25th October 1847, p.11.

not know himself and the consequences have been that both teacher and taught have fallen into fatal error."¹

Of those who had been trained for the day schools he said, "I am not speaking at random, my brethren, but from personal knowledge. More than two hundred young persons have passed, and many more have attempted to pass, through my hands as candidates for the office of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in day schools. Many of these have previously been Sunday School teachers for five or six years; and, as I never let candidates pass without a strict examination, I am in a position to tell you, that the ignorance of the Scriptures displayed by numbers of these young persons is appalling...."²

He went on to claim that even as a system of secular education the day schools had failed and were deficient in both quantity and quality and that "the great bulk of those who have assumed the office of teaching others are totally incompetent and require to be taught themselves."³ In 1848 he wrote, "Taking the masters and mistresses of our daily schools as a body, they have been hitherto totally unfit for the duties they are engaged to discharge."⁴

The inadequacies of school teachers were noted in the first reports of the inspectors who were appointed after 1843. The Rev. H.W. Bellairs H.M.I. complained of "the great ignorance of masters, particularly in rural areas," and reported that many teachers were unfit for their situation: "... teachers who were irreligious, ill-tempered, without information or intelligence and with no desire to remedy their defects."⁵

The root cause of the defects in school teachers was economic. There was little to tempt men and women who had any sort of learning into elementary school

¹The Pulpit, No. 1399., op. cit., p.354.

²ibid., p.355.

³ibid.

⁴Cheltenham Journal, 31st January 1848.

⁵Committee of the Council Minutes, 1845, Mr Bellairs' Report on the SW District, 1846, op. cit., p.476.

teaching. Salaries were low; teachers received as little as £30 per annum in the Deanery of Cirencester in 1844¹, and there was no security or reward for merit. H. Dunn pointed out in 1837 that teachers must expect to live on "a miserable pittance" and that they could have no redress against "the prejudices and peculiarities of school managers."² H.W. Bellairs explained that many schools had been built, but little attention had been given to providing a position of honour and emolument for those who were to teach in them;³ "They have been accounted a kind of necessary appendage to the parochial system, machines to teach a dull and mechanical routine, and their standards are what they are in themselves - low in tone and deficient in moral bearing."⁴

In 1845 Close was not only well aware of the need for trained teachers, he had been involved in teacher training for over fifteen years. As Chairman of the Cheltenham National and Sunday Schools Committee he had gained considerable practical experience in supervising teachers and measuring achievement through regular visits and annual examinations. Between 1830 and 1845 he estimated that nearly four hundred masters and mistresses had been trained in Cheltenham.⁵ He was therefore likely to support the proposal to establish a training college at Cheltenham even if the religious crisis caused by Newman's apostasy had not occurred. Moreover, he was able to stamp it with his own distinct educational ideas about the correct way to educate teachers and the methods which should be used. He believed that all pupils deserved to have good teachers who were not only pious but well informed.

The annual report in 1847, which was written by Close, stressed the importance

¹Bristol Diocesan Board of Education. Annual Report, (1844).

²Dunn, H., *Principles of Teaching or the Normal School Manual*, 1837, Hamilton Adams & Co., London, pp.192-3.

³See also Kay Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Education*, 1862, op. cit., pp.474-5.

⁴Committee of Council Minutes, 1847-8, op. cit., p. 477.

⁵Close F., *National Education*, 1847, op. cit., p. 19.

of the study of subjects: "The object which the Committee are anxious to keep in view, is to prepare a class of instructors who, while they are enlightened and spiritually-minded men, shall be furnished with a sound and not superficial knowledge of the subjects which they will be called upon to handle."¹ However, the teacher's personal qualities were really what mattered most: "The powers of his mind, the scope of information and more especially his own moral and spiritual culture will combine to make him the most efficient, tender, careful and successful teacher of our children."²

This would be achieved by a lengthy process of training. He explained: "The Training School, or Normal College is an institution in which a certain number of young men and women from 16 years of age and upwards are boarded, lodged and educated with a view to their future profession Their term of residence there ought to be three years, not because a less period might not avail to impart to them all the actual knowledge which might be required to qualify them as teachers of schools, but because a less period is not sufficient for the culture of their own minds, the formation of their own principles and character and above all, for the acquirement of the all important but much neglected science of training the infant and juvenile mind so that they may know how to influence and direct it into the way of truth."³

Even if the Cheltenham institution had remained quite small, these ideas alone might have ensured that it became important and distinctive. However, the *Minutes* which were issued by the Committee of Privy Council on Education in 1846 made it possible to plan on a much larger scale. Close welcomed the pupil teacher system and the provisions which were made to award Queen's scholarships to Training Colleges,

¹C.H. 4/1 Annual Report, 1847, p.25.

²Close F., Co-operation Recommended, 1848, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

³ibid.

with enthusiasm. The great secret, that most teachers up to that time were incompetent, had been discovered at last, and the government had set itself to remedy this evil, he declared. A new class of teachers was about to be created:

"Do you know, my friends," he said, "that there are already more than one thousand young persons who, within a few months, have been apprenticed by the Government, and are in training for the office of teachers in schools? In a short time, this thousand will be succeeded by another thousand, and those by a thousand more, all of whom are required to meet the demands of the country. Within the space of ten or twelve years you will have a new caste among you; you will have a band of men and women, spread over the country, intelligent, well informed, what they know knowing well, clever in teaching, possessing the power of imparting knowledge and exercising a great influence upon others."¹

He approved of the high standards required for certificated teachers by the Committee of Council. "It is to be hoped," he said, "that they will never be persuaded to lower them one jot or tittle. Experience proves that a well educated and generally intelligent, pious master will teach the most uncultivated and the rudest children better than a less educated man."

Close believed that the study of subjects in depth would help this new class of teachers to obtain a moral ascendancy over their pupils and set them above their peers. He appears to have taken for granted that the mental discipline involved in study developed intellectual skills which were transferable to other subjects. This view was generally held at the time. As an example he pointed out that the subjects which he and others training for the church had studied at university had really had little relevance to their future work as priests. Even so these studies had helped them to

¹The Pulpit, No. 1399., op. cit., p. 355

acquire a substratum of intellectual culture and mental development which was of great value in later years.

It was also worthwhile because "a clergy one remove above the ... farmer would be a great evil - and so a schoolmaster uncouth in his manners, provincial in his dialect, limited in his general knowledge, and scarcely a remove above the boors he teaches, commands no respect, has little moral influence, and perpetuates barbarism among the rising generation."¹ This view that the aim of teacher training was to develop the character and cultivate the mind of the student for a worthy calling was not significantly different from that of other pioneers in this field. Derwent Coleridge, the Principal of St. Mark's, explained his aims in a statement issued from Stanley Grove in 1842:

"The plan proposes to *form* the character , both generally and with a special reference to the scholastic office. Agreeably to this idea, *youths* only are admitted, and are kept in training for a period of time measured by years, not months. The force of habit and association - early and long - continued impressions - favourable influences of many kinds - the daily sight and sound of good - the means and opportunity of discipline, moral, physical and intellectual - such are the advantages which it is intended to secure."²

As with Close, the education, the training and a long period of residence were intended to produce a new type of teacher. In anticipation of possible criticism Coleridge explained:

"It is not with a view to the immediate comfort or gratification of the young men ... that the arrangements of the College have been placed in some respects upon a footing of respectability to which many of the young men have not been

¹Close F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, op.cit. p.53

²Coleridge, D., *Aims and Principles*, Stanley Grove, June 14th 1842, Quoted by Roberts, M., (ed), *Notes on College History: College of St. Mark and St. John*, 1946.

accustomed. It is to awaken feelings of self respect and gradually render the young men amenable to the highest motives that a higher tone has been given to the Institution than to a casual observer may perhaps appear expedient."¹

In modern terms it is clear that Coleridge, Close and others who were involved in establishing Training Colleges regarded them from the start as "agents of socialisation" which would produce a new class of teachers.² Although he was not aware of the term, Close described the process of socialisation at a school in detail. Every activity he said, including class work, gallery lessons, meal times and play activities were all part of the system of training. Work never stops and is never completed and school hours are not followed by periods of wild uncontrolled play. Instead there is a planned succession of activities in a cheerful atmosphere which he claimed develops the natural character of the pupil, discovers defects and corrects them.³

As an example he described a visit which he had made with his family to the Women's Training School. This was run by the first Governess, Miss Bedford who retired in 1849 and died soon afterwards. Close described her as "a most excellent, pious and intelligent lady", and said, "We were all much affected by the manifest and deep-toned piety and spirituality which pervaded the establishment. In all we saw we had an intuitive perception that that was as house of prayer and a house of peace, where there was not only the best intellectual culture, but also that culture which man cannot give, the teaching of God's Holy Spirit."⁴

Where the religious and doctrinal principles on which the College was founded are concerned, it is clear from Close's own explanation that he was describing more

¹ibid.

²Collins, J., op.cit., 1985, pp. 1 & 2.

³Close, F., Co-operation ... Recommended, op.cit., p.56.

⁴The Pulpit, No 1399, op.cit., p.361.

than a process of socialisation. In modern terms he thought of the Cheltenham College as a "total institution." One in which everyone would have "imbibed its values and the educational and social understandings associated with them."¹

"It is to be - mark this - a Church of England training school, unconnected with any diocese, unconnected with any territory, based on evangelical principles, and from first to last conducted on those principles."²

To this end he believed that it was vital that there should be complete agreement as far as religious opinions and doctrine were concerned, amongst the founders. He believed that distinctiveness was essential.

This principle was particularly important when it was applied to the Boards of Management: "independence of action in the inculcation of the truth and nothing else must be secured in the construction of the Boards of Management - THE DIRECTORS MUST BE ALL OF ONE MIND."³

At Cheltenham the size and membership of the Governing body was designed to ensure that this should be so and that no one could have any doubts as to the religious doctrines which were taught there.

"In the selection of the one hundred clergymen and one hundred laymen who are life governors, in whom the sole conduct of the institution is vested - regard was had only to the soundness of their Evangelical profession. It was hoped and believed that the well-known names of so many distinguished advocates ... would afford a guarantee ... that the teaching in this college should be no doubtful sort ... there was no equivocation nor mistake respecting the peculiar character of this institution."⁴

The original governors constituted a roll-call of the Evangelical party of the

¹Lynch, J., *The Reform of Teacher Education in the U.K.*, University of Surrey, 1979, p.8.

²The Pulpit, No 1399, op.cit., p.360.

³Close, F., *Co-operation ... Recommended*, 1848, op.cit., pp.31-32.

⁴ibid., p.63.

Church of England.¹ It was their ultimate responsibility to ensure that the staff who were appointed and the students who were admitted were in agreement with the college's Evangelical mission. In practice however, the day to day management was left to a smaller general committee which vetted applicants for staff posts. Usually they were interviewed by Close himself. Student applicants were also subjected to rigorous enquiry, as to their religious beliefs, before being accepted.

Close welcomed the minutes of 1846 and the grants for certificated teachers because he believed that they would enhance the status of teachers. In particular he recognised that the arrangements for examination and the system of Queen's scholarships to enable pupil teachers to attend Training Colleges, had given the Colleges a key role. He expected that within a few years teachers' certificates would only be granted to those who had passed with credit through the Training Schools, so that they would ultimately be "the initiatory schools of all the masters and mistresses in the Kingdom."²

Because of this he argued that the most important question of the day was not who was to teach the children but who was to teach the teachers.

"He who teaches the teachers stands at the helm of government; he has caught the lever which may raise the country. If you can but get teachers for three years into an Evangelical, Protestant, Scriptural college, you may afterwards send them forth through the country, a little leaven which shall leaven the whole lump."³

In a passage which stressed the importance of Training Colleges he challenged his readers to say "whether he who has the control and guidance of the Training schools does not lay his hands on the helm which shall guide the future destinies of his native land - whether he does not possess the fulcrum of that moral lever which

¹More, C., *op.cit.*, 1992, p.27.

²Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, *op.cit.*, p.55.

³The Pulpit, No 1399, *op.cit.*, p.355.

shall move the great bulk of the middle and lower classes ... " which will immediately create "fountains of knowledge, moral and religious, as ... may irrigate the thirsty soil to the end of time."¹

Education and training would contribute to the leavening process by sending out competent teachers. They would be able to interest pupils and so exercise an influence for their "temporal and eternal good." For this reason, the most important objective of the Executive Committee and staff was to ensure that "with the weapon of influence which intellectual superiority must place in the instructor's hands, he shall receive that guidance for its use which the sanctifying word of God can alone supply."²

Twelve years later the author of the fourteenth annual report explained this higher purpose:

"Others might raise and support Training Colleges from which well educated men and women might issue ... This Institution was founded with ... much higher views. It was intended to be a centre of Evangelical truth. It was to be a place to which young persons of previous religious hopefulness might be sent with a confident trust that here they might with the Divine blessing be built up in the faith that is in Christ Jesus, untrammelled on the one hand by sacramental bondage but bound on the other by an implicit faith in the revealed Word of God."³

Close had quickly realised that the minutes of 1846 regarding Training Colleges provided Evangelicals with a golden opportunity to establish a large institution of their own, which would be of national importance.⁴ Substantial grants

¹Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, op.cit., p.58.

²C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.26.

³C.H. 4/1/1, 1860, p. 14

⁴Burgess describes the period 1846-1858 as the golden age of the Church Training Colleges: Burgess H.J., *Enterprise in Education*, 1958, p124.

for building and for the maintenance of Colleges were being offered on an even handed basis to all voluntary groups provided they met with the standards which were required and were open to inspection. Even more important this support was available without any government interference with religious and moral training. In all matters pertaining to those areas, (such as the management, staffing, admissions, internal tests, worship, religious teaching and welfare), the voluntary body would retain control. When he wrote about those who controlled and guided the training schools moving great masses of benighted people, he was planning to train teachers who would save children from sin. For him it was almost a matter of simple arithmetic. He explained that the college would be able to accommodate eighty masters and sixty mistresses who, after being well trained, would go out into the schools to indoctrinate children with Evangelical beliefs.¹

Considering the masters only, he calculated "these eighty persons represent schools containing upon an average in all *eight thousand children* - eight thousand youthful souls to be intrusted to their care - the thought is overwhelming!"²

Close frequently used this argument regarding the number of pupils who would be influenced by well trained Evangelical teachers, particularly in the Annual Reports of the Training Institution which he wrote after 1847. These produced cumulative lists of the names of students who had been trained at Cheltenham until 1861. At the same time he wrote about "the incalculable importance of Training Schools on scriptural principles."³

Whilst he was well aware of the financial advantages to be gained by cooperating with the government, he believed that there should be no delay in taking advantage of the new policy. Political changes might put an end to the scheme and

¹The pulpit, No 1399, op.cit., p.360.

²Close, F., Cooperation ... Recommended, 1848, op.cit., p.58.

³ibid., p.67.

the opportunity to build a new institution on such a scale might never occur again. Here he anticipated the Revised Code, which abolished building grants in 1860 and Queen's scholarships in 1864. Even more important however, other Voluntary bodies were also aware of the advantages offered by the minutes of 1846 and were competing for the hearts and minds of student teachers. No doubt he was thinking not so much of the Roman Catholics as the Tractarians within the Church of England when he warned his audience:

"But others are awake to this - ready to seize the opportunity, and to impregnate future teachers with error, false doctrine, superstition and corrupt practices; and while you sleep the enemy will sow tares."¹

In fact the first Roman Catholic Training Institution for men opened at Hammersmith in 1850. The intense rivalry between the Church of England Training Schools Society represented by Close and the National Society is reflected in the reference to sowing tares. Close withdrew his support from the National Society altogether in that year. All his sermons and lectures on behalf of the Cheltenham Institution were in part designed to counter the influence of the Tractarians within the National Society and its Colleges.

After 1845 Close became a leading advocate of co-operation between the Voluntary bodies and the Committee of Privy Council on Education. The extent to which his opinions contributed to the development of the dual system of education is difficult to assess, but his influence was considerable at a crucial time. Perhaps, after all, this was his most important educational idea. His separation from the National Society made him more aware of the need for compromise in order to make progress. Where the state was concerned he said, "If we are to wait until the

¹The Pulpit, No 1399, op.cit., p.355.

governments are thoroughly Christian and act only on Christian principles ... then we must wholly abandon the principle of the union of church and state, and despair of any good object being accomplished on a large scale."

Eleven years later he wrote: "I have ever been an advocate for the existing system of government aid and inspection, not because it is perfect, nor because I approve of every detail or order, but because it is right in principle, because it is the only rational and practical scheme yet propounded, and because it had done and is doing incalculable good."¹

In 1846 he supported proposals for the appointment of laymen as managers of schools. He believed that this would counter Tractarian influence. In 1847 he supported the provisions for the inspection of schools because he believed that it would lead to higher standards.

He argued that grants from central government funds would stimulate rather than diminish the work of the voluntary societies. "No-one would be more jealous than I should be of anything which tended to diminish voluntary effort. All that the Government has hitherto done has had a directly opposite tendency"², he said.

Sectarian opposition to proposals which the Committee of the Privy Council made for education remained strong for many years after 1848. Close became increasingly impatient with this narrow view, particularly after the encouragement which he received from Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth when the foundation at Cheltenham was discussed. In 1850 an anonymous supporter of the Tractarians published a pamphlet entitled *The Plain State of the Case Between the Church of England and the Committee of Council on Education*." A copy of this pamphlet, which is preserved in the College archives, is covered with disapproving comments in Close's own

¹Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, op.cit., p.41.

²Educational Commission, 1860, *Answers to the Circular of Questions*, Vol.5, 1861, p.125.

handwriting.¹ Two examples illustrate how strongly he felt on this issue.

"How men can dare to state such lies is incredible!" and "This is the object, to aggravate people into vituperation of the State by circulating lies."²

Close was convinced that voluntary bodies must accept government grants if the educational needs of the country were to be met. He said that he relied implicitly on the sincerity of the Government in the even-handed support which they were willing to give, and he tried to dispel the fears of churchmen that Government aid would lead to any sort of interference with religious teaching. He cited his own experience in obtaining grants for the College in Cheltenham as an example of the way the new policy worked in practice. He said that the original proposals and plans which had been sent to the Committee of Privy Council on Education had been returned "with scarcely a single correction - none whatever of the least importance, not touching in the remotest manner upon the government of the institution, or its religious principles. Nor has there been, from first to last, one single question raised, nor an objection alleged, to the avowed and well understood design of the institution."³

Where other denominations were concerned, he recognised that they were also entitled to government support on the same terms. This was the only rational and practical way to proceed, when there were so many interested parties in the country. He argued that it was "far better to let each shade of party have its own separate institution, in which it may quietly pursue what is believed by its promoters to be the truth, than to attempt to unite men who, when they come to details of instruction,

¹C.H. 20/1/9.

²The Plain State of the Case between the Church of England and the Committee of Council on Education by the Author of A Plain Tract on Convocation. Printed for the Committee of June 7th on Education, 1850, pp. 14, 22.

³Close F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, op. cit. p. 67

will either "fall out by the way" or gradually separate from each other."¹

He was assuming that each college would reflect the theological views of its founders. That in modern terms it would be a "total" institution. It was inevitable that Roman Catholics and Tractarians would establish training schools. Close acknowledged this and resolved to compete with them. In this he was successful. Cheltenham soon became the largest training college in the country. By 1851 the department for men was as large as the National Society's College at Battersea and the women's department was as large as Whitelands at Chelsea. Each department on its own was far larger than most of the diocesan colleges.

The control which the voluntary bodies continued to exercise over a large number of schools and colleges which were largely financed by the state is one of the most striking features of English educational history. Where teacher training was concerned, this came about because of the strenuous denominational opposition to the original proposal by the Committee of Privy Council on Education to establish a State Normal School in April 1839. This proposal, which was made on the first day after the committee had been appointed caused so much protest that the proposed Normal School was never founded. In his evidence to the Newcastle Commission, Kay-Shuttleworth explained that the intention had been to take a "first step towards the establishment of a common school upon the basis of religious equality" in which "teachers of the several classes of schools connected with the religious communions of England were to be educated together."²

Most of the objections were against the idea that teachers of different denominations should worship together and receive religious instruction of a non-denominational kind. On June 4th 1839, Lord John Russell announced the

¹ibid., p.32.

²Educational Commission: Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners, Vol. VI, London, H.M.S.O., 1861, p.301.

abandonment of the scheme. By the time the minutes of 1846 were issued, the principle that the government could not establish schools or colleges but would provide financial aid to voluntary bodies which did so, had been widely accepted. Tropp argues that Kay-Shuttleworth had realised, many years before he was appointed as Secretary to the Committee of Privy Council on Education, the true nature of the educational difficulty caused by sectarianism. Namely that "only government assistance could bring order and progress and this assistance would only be acceptable to the religious societies if it left their authority supreme."¹

In order to secure the provision of teacher training colleges, Kay-Shuttleworth and his committee were obliged to refrain quite deliberately from any attempt to influence the voluntary bodies as far as religious and moral training were concerned. Therefore, Close's view of the Cheltenham College as a united Christian community, dedicated to the pursuit of truth and excellence, which was brought together by God, in order to serve others was consistent with Government policy. Training Colleges as distinct types of institutions only came into existence in England and Wales during the 1840's. They were monotchnic, having been set up to prepare students for the Teachers' Certificate, they were usually single sex institutions and they were residential. Until that time the only form of residential education apart from Universities had been provided for orphans and public school boys. After 1840, residence became an essential part of teacher training for student teachers, who were neither paupers nor peers, being drawn almost entirely from the working class. This had not been the case at Borough Road College, (f 1808) by the British and Foreign School Society, nor at the Home and Colonial College (f 1836) by Evangelicals within the Church of England and some Non-conformists.

¹Tropp, A., *The School Teachers*, W. Heinemann, 1957, p.18.

Nor was it necessarily the case at Training Colleges in Scotland. Students usually took lodgings nearby. At Cheltenham and the other colleges which were supported by the Committee of Privy Council in 1847 (Battersea, St. Mark's, Chester, York and Ripon and Durham) residence at the institution played an important part in the socialisation of this first generation of elementary teachers. Their formal training was only a part of this process; a process which Collins explains in some detail:

"The institution itself is the structural setting for the identification and learning of roles. The setting has many elements, operating in a complex system of interaction. The buildings themselves may be said to have their rhetoric, demonstrating some relationship between architectural style and ideology. The human environment of a training institution will include a whole hierarchy of personnel of widely varying status and from different personal, social and educational backgrounds. The potentially conflicting values, attitudes and beliefs - not to mention different objectives - of so many varied types of persons, will all contribute to the moral and intellectual environment of a virtually closed community."¹

Close puts it more generally in succinct terms:

"The actual amount of knowledge thus received and imparted is in point of fact a subordinate consideration - it is the secondary symptoms, so to speak, arising from collegiate training which produce the good results."²

It should also be noted that at Cheltenham conflicting values, attitudes and beliefs were not likely to be tolerated and the principles or objectives were clearly defined because Close and his associates intended that they should be observed until the end of time.

¹Collins, J., *op.cit.*, 1985, pp, 5 & 6.

²Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, *op.cit.*, p.52.

Close always promoted the Cheltenham College as a national institution claiming that it trained men and women from all parts of the country and from further afield. It should not be regarded as a local Diocesan college.

Of the four hundred teachers who had been trained at three schools in Cheltenham between 1830-45, most were working in England, though some were abroad and one in Scotland.¹ For several years Evangelical Clergy had been writing to him to ask for suitable teachers to staff their schools. They knew that schoolmasters and mistresses who had been trained at Cheltenham, were not likely to have been affected by Tractarian ideas. There were never enough Cheltenham trained teachers to meet the demand and by 1845 this was one of his main concerns. He had no doubt at all that an Evangelical Scriptural College would be of National benefit.

At that time diocesan training colleges were being established by the National Society in many areas. By 1845 there were twenty-two such colleges, thirteen for men, five for women and four for men and women.² Most of these Colleges were quite small and some were very short lived. Close argued that as local institutions they were vulnerable to Tractarian influences and might succumb to change at any time, particularly when new bishops and clergy were appointed. He said they were likely "to take their complexion and teaching to a great extent from their Diocesan (Bishops), this may vary from Chester to Exeter and each must stand or fall upon its merits."³

Whilst he agreed that some of these colleges might support the Evangelical Movement, only a National College could become that "distinctive bulwark of the Reformation Principles of the Church of England", which Close was determined to

¹Close, F., *National Education. Training Schools for Masters and Mistresses*. Speech of the Rev. Francis Close at a public meeting held at Ipswich on Monday 25th October, 1847, Colchester.

²Fuller, F.W.T., *The Churches Train Teachers (1830-90)*, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Exeter, 1973, pp.355-357.

³Close, F., *Training Schools*, op.cit., 1847, p.23.

establish in Cheltenham.¹

In the course of his deputation work to raise funds for the Cheltenham institution between 1847-8, Close was at pains to point out that it was never intended to rival the local diocesan college. This was proposed to serve the united diocese of Bristol and Gloucester. "We are open to the whole United Kingdom and even the colonies are included", he said. In fact, the ninth male student to be enrolled at the College was from Trinidad.²

This evaluation of Close's educational ideas argues that they were always based upon his religious beliefs, some of which were uncompromising and intolerant, even arrogant. However, they were tempered by very considerable practical experience of education at all levels and for all classes in Cheltenham over more than thirty years. Moreover, his ideas were influenced by compassion for children, particularly the children of the poor. Where the foundation of the Cheltenham Training Institution was concerned his determination to counter the growing influence of the Tractarians in the Colleges, which were run by the National Society, was an important factor. Yet it was combined with considerable experience in training teachers for the National Schools and a well defined philosophy of the way teachers should be trained for elementary schools in general. He was quick to grasp the opportunity which was afforded by the minutes of 1846 to put these ideas into practice.

In conclusion, the following account affords a glimpse at Close at work. It shows how he influenced others through leadership, example, organising ability and by delegation. The Rev. F. Robertson (1816-53) was assistant curate of Christ Church from 1842-47, having been appointed during a period of illness. His father Captain F. Robertson resided in Cheltenham and was a friend of Close. He was later

¹Munden, A.F., *op.cit.*, 1980, p.194.

²William Robertson who was recommended by Mrs. Murray and registered on 22nd June 1847. He was 17 years old and returned to Trinidad.

appointed to Trinity Chapel, Brighton, and left the Evangelical wing of the church to become a leading exponent of Liberal Christianity.¹ At this time however, his inspiring words reflect Close's own zeal for and high expectations of education. This celebration took place only a fortnight before the original proposal to establish a Training Institution in Cheltenham, which will be discussed in the next section.

On August 8th 1845, Close presided over the Anniversary Celebrations for the National and Sunday Schools in Cheltenham. He preached to 1,900 children in the new church at Christ Church which had been completed less than five years before. Afterwards 500 teachers were entertained to cakes and tea at the Town Hall where they were addressed by the Rev. F. Robertson. He concluded by saying:

"Perhaps to many minds there is an idea of contempt in the simple school teacher being engaged with his humble class but in the sight of Him who measures things by a different standard, there is a magnificence and grandeur in all that, which the judgement day alone can show ... And when the splendour of this earth has passed away, when the diadems that have been worn have passed into insignificance, the Sunday School Teacher and the National School Teacher will be found to have been engaged in God's glorious work, and will take his place among God's noble ones, the aristocracy of the universe."²

The Original Proposal to Establish a Training Institution for Teachers in Cheltenham. (August 1845 - January 1847)

This thesis maintains that the foundation of the training institution in Cheltenham was primarily the work of the Rev. Francis Close. From first to last it

¹Munden, A.F., op.cit., 1980, pp.138-141.

²Cheltenham Journal, 11/8/1845.

was his creation rather than a response, which he and others made, to a widespread demand for such a college from Evangelicals in Britain. Close's position as a leading authority on Education and as a controversialist, who was deeply opposed to Tractarian influence within the National Society, has been explained. Also, the situation which he had created in Cheltenham by 1845 has been described. A situation in which he was so dominant that "nothing is begun without him - indeed he generally begins everything himself; nothing is concluded without him - his consent alone gives the finishing stroke."¹

Yet by contrast, all previous accounts of the foundation maintain that Close and residents in the town had little to do with the original proposal for the Cheltenham Institution. They also relate, that after a few meetings in Cheltenham, a serious attempt was made to found the college in London, and that this attempt failed ignominiously because of lack of support. As a result of this failure the committee "impelled by a simple sense of duty"² resolved to establish the college in Cheltenham.

W.E. Beck who was Principal from 1921-1949 and author of a short history of the college as part of the centenary celebrations writes:

"On a September day in the year 1845 ... there was a meeting. A few clergymen and laymen were present to consider a proposal. It had come from influential folk all over the country. It mooted the idea of establishing in Cheltenham, as a place peculiarly suited for it, a Training School for Masters and Mistresses."³

Munden says, "Though Close became deeply involved in the formation and development of the Church of England School Society, he did not initiate the

¹See above, p.30.

²C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.19.

³Beck W.E., A History of Cheltenham Training Colleges, 1947, p. 8.

founding of a Normal School in Cheltenham. The originator was Samuel Codner."¹

In her history of St. Mary's college, E. B. Challinor who was Vice-Principal 1962-1976 does mention the strong antipathy which existed "between members of the Oxford Movement and members of the Evangelical revival within the Church of England."² She implies that it was this which led to the proposal to establish an Evangelical Training Institution in Cheltenham.

"By 1845 the Church had already built five colleges ... and in that year Samuel Codner wrote to the Rev. Francis Close ... proposing that a training college should be founded in Cheltenham."³

C. More also states that Codner wrote to Close in 1845 advocating the establishment of a training college but points out that this first initiative is puzzling:

"What sparked his approach to Close and his initial suggestion of Cheltenham are unknown. Presumably he was attracted to Cheltenham by its reputation as an Evangelical centre. The letter has a Cheltenham address suggesting that Codner stayed in the town in search of bodily or spiritual nourishment or both."⁴

These accounts are all based on the *First Annual Report of the Church of England Training Schools at Cheltenham 1847*, published 1848. This contains a "brief narrative of the rise and progress of the institution", which was written for supporters and subscribers "not only for the information of their friends but as a record of the institution itself."⁵ The opening statement is definite:

"Proposals for the formation of a Normal School for masters and mistresses in Cheltenham were first made to several of the Clergy and Laity of that place by S. Codner Esq., Sir T.W. Blomefield, Bart and other parties wholly unconnected with

¹Munden, A.F., 1980, op.cit. p. 192.

²Challinor, E.B., *The Story of St. Mary's College, Cheltenham*, Taylor Young Ltd, 1978, p.6.

³ibid.

⁴More, C., op.cit., 1992, p.8.

⁵C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.14.

the locality, in August 1845."

In conclusion the writer summarises the seven main points which his "brief narrative" was written to emphasize and clarify. The importance which he attached to the various points may be inferred from the order in which they were presented. These were:

"That the project did not originate with persons residing in Cheltenham; that after it was adopted and commenced at that place every desire was shown to promote its removal to the metropolis; that further it could not have been formed in opposition to any of the present projected Diocesan Societies, in as much as it was in existence long before them; that even with respect to the National Society it was proposed rather to supply a deficiency than to create antagonism; that while as to its religious character, it is distinct in its professions of doctrine and definite in its objects, it is neither local, Diocesan nor territorial in its operations."¹

He went on to claim that the institution "serves and has received support from people all over the country" and that "unlike any other of its kindred institutions" it was in existence before Government assistance became available in 1846 and merely adapted itself to the Government requirements in order to "give perpetuity and increased extent to that system of teaching which it is pledged to establishing."²

Perhaps it is not surprising that this record has been accepted as correct ever since. It is detailed, and makes specific references to correspondence and minutes in order to explain the sequence of events and reasons for decisions which were made at the time.

Entries in the first minute book including copies of the first letters about the proposal seem to confirm the main facts in this account.

¹ibid., p.35.

²ibid., p.36.

Codner's letters (23rd August 1845 and 28th August 1845), and Close's reply (25th August 1845), were copied onto the first two pages of the Minute Book, followed by minutes of the inaugural meeting of "The Friends of Scriptural Education" (23rd September 1845), and the minutes of the Provisional Committee Meeting which drafted the rules on 26th September 1845.¹ Careful examination of the handwriting suggests that all of these first entries into the Minute Book were written by Close himself, though it is impossible to be sure of this. What is certain however, is that the *First Annual Report* of 1847 including "this simple statement of the circumstances connected with the rise and progress of their institution" was written by Close at the request of the College Committee.²

Knowledge that he was the author of this account of the history of the foundation must alter one's view of events. Until now, this account has been accepted as factual and objective which may be far from the case. When it was written in late 1847, opposition to the Cheltenham Institution was growing rapidly. Opponents contemptuously referred to it as "Mr. Close's Institution" and "Mr. Close's cause." This opposition was painful to Close because it came from fellow members of his own church, not all of whom were necessarily members of the High Church Party. Also it must have been embarrassing for him to ask for support for the Cheltenham College, when his own Bishop was trying to raise money to establish a Diocesan Training College under the National Society. This was founded in 1853 as Fishponds College in Bristol.

Far from being a simple statement therefore Close's brief narrative account of the origins of the Cheltenham Institution is a carefully written defence of the foundation against growing criticism by members of the Church of England,

¹First College Minute Book, C.H. 2/1/1, pp.1-7.

²Rough Minute Book, C.H. 2/1/2

particularly those who supported the Tractarians. Its purpose seems to have been to rally the support of Evangelicals throughout the land by providing them with ready answers to the most damaging arguments, which these opponents were then using. At the time of writing, Close had already met with hostile criticism in the course of his deputation work to raise funds, all of which was carried out "amidst much opposition and misrepresentation."¹

This reached a peak in April 1849 when Close spoke at Clifton and was interrupted by Archdeacon Thorpe of Gloucester. The press account gives some idea of the intensity of feelings which had been generated on both sides: under the heading "Extraordinary Proceedings at Bristol", it continues, "The excitement and confusion were beyond description. The Victoria rooms displayed more the characteristics of a bear garden than those of a religious meeting ... The ground of complaint taken by the Venerable Archdeacon Thorpe was that the (Cheltenham) Institution was hostile to the Bishop ... After silence had been restored by a well timed threat by the Chairman that he would order a policeman to remove any person who interrupted the meeting, Mr Close was allowed to go on."²

At the end of the meeting a letter protesting against the Cheltenham Institution which had been signed by the Mayor of Bristol and fifty-four clergymen from the diocese, including Archdeacon Thorpe, was handed to Close. The letter pointed out that the National Society "embraces the same scriptural objects as the proposed institution" and is supported by all of the Bishops and a large body of Clergy and Laymen "of all shades of opinion."

By contrast, the Cheltenham foundation was not supported by a single Bishop and was "notoriously undertaken without the concurrence" of the Bishop of

¹C.H. 4/1, 1850, Third Annual Report, p.35.

²Cheltenham Journal, April 30th 1849.

Gloucester "if not in direct opposition to his ... known wishes." Moreover, the Bishops of Gloucester and Oxford are at the moment "earnestly engaged" in setting up joint Training Schools to serve both dioceses. In view of this the letter concludes:

"We therefore earnestly deprecate the formation ... of any Institution, professing similar objects as a course which we ... consider unnecessary and likely to ferment divisions among Churchmen."¹

By this time Close may have become inured to such protests. A few weeks before this a similar meeting, which he had addressed in Nottingham, had been interrupted by members of the High Church Party. Also Thorpe was an old antagonist. In 1845 they had clashed over the restoration of the Round church at Cambridge.² However, Close's health suffered badly which may have been due to the stress of overwork. He was taken seriously ill in September 1848 and was absent from Cheltenham for three months in 1849 for health reasons.³ Even so, after the letter had been presented to him at Clifton, he is recorded as having introduced an element of humour into the proceedings and he admitted that the opposition had, on this occasion, out-manoeuvred him.⁴ He might have added that they were too late, however since the foundation stone for the men's department had been laid on April 19th.

He had known in 1845 that the formation of the Church of England Training Schools Society would arouse a great deal of opposition because it challenged the National Society's claim to be the sole agent for the Church of England in all Anglican Schools. When he wrote the *Annual Report* for 1847 he took the opportunity to refute the charge that he was the sole instigator and prime mover in the project.

¹ibid.

²See above, p.85.

³See above p.35.

⁴Cheltenham Journal, April 30th 1849.

In this first history of the Cheltenham Institution, he carefully concealed his own role in order to emphasize its national character. He sought to give the impression that a mounting tide of opinion amongst Evangelicals throughout the land demanded that a Training College should be set up upon Scriptural lines. He had been invited to assist in this work originally but then the project was moved to London. It was only when the London scheme failed that the institution had been founded in Cheltenham out of a sense of duty.

The preceding study of Close's career, his extensive work for education, his ability to organise, his vehemence and persistence in controversy, the way he dominated Cheltenham, the timing of the foundation, all suggest that the account which he gave in the first Annual Report cannot be true, particularly when it deals with the initial letters from S. Codner and the first meetings which were held in Cheltenham between 23rd September and 27th October 1845.

Thirty-five years later when the Cheltenham Training College was well established, no longer embattled and beset with opponents, Close returned his own copy of the first three Annual Reports to the Rev. R.M. Chamney who was then Principal. It was no longer necessary for him to conceal the leading role which he had played in the foundation as he had tried to do in 1847. Inside the cover he wrote:

"P.S. On looking over these reports and resolutions I find that they are all my own composition! I did also most of the deputation work. Mr Bromby accompanied me to Clifton and some places."¹

Detailed study of his account confirms this admission.

According to Close Samuel Codner first wrote to him on 23rd August 1845. After explaining his background as the founder of the Newfoundland and British

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.1.

North American Schools Society he said that this work "has led me to think that if a similar course were adopted in this Kingdom, the morals of the Working Classes would be greatly improved. I have mentioned this subject to some of my friends who agree with me in thinking that it would be desirable to form a Normal School, for training persons of serious and religious impressions in connection with our Establishment, for the purpose of conducting Schools for home and our foreign possessions. Should you and your friends concur with me, we do consider Cheltenham a proper place to commence such an undertaking ..."¹

Samuel Codner (1776-1858) was an Evangelical merchant who traded with North America from Dartmouth, Devon, where he was normally resident. At the A.G.M. of the Cheltenham branch of the Church Missionary Society (6th October 1845), he made a speech in which he explained how he had become involved in Bible Societies and how he had founded the Newfoundland Society in 1823. He said:

"Twenty-seven years ago that very day I was the humble instrument of forming a missionary society in Teignmouth. In April 1815 I went to Bristol and purchased a ship called the Jubilee and was requested by a friend to attend a Church Missionary Society meeting at the Town Hall - at which the late lamented Rev. Josiah Pratt stated in the course of his speech that they had received collections in every county in England except two and the County of Devon in which I resided was one of them. I ... determined to use my best endeavours to rescue my native county from the charge and after making myself acquainted with the subject, I collected at Teignmouth in 1816 £21.12 shillings and in 1817 £40."

Codner went on to describe how he had formed a Bible Society Association In Margate (1821) and "The Newfoundland School Society for Education of the Poor"

¹C.H. 2/1/1, p.1.

in London (1823). Lord Liverpool was President of this Society which since its formation "had sent out ... forty-five male and female teachers of whom eighteen had been ordained as deacons, 20,000 copies of the Scriptures had been sent out and 20,000 people had been educated in the Principles of the Established Church."¹

Close presided as Chairman of this meeting which was also attended by the Rev. J.R. Watson, his curate, Rev. J. Brown, Rev. E. Riddle and Fenton Hort Esq., all of whom were involved in the foundation of the training institution.

Codner's original letter was written from a Cheltenham address, 13 Lansdown Terrace. The Rev. J.R. Watson lived at no. 32, whilst Close was resident at The Grange nearby.² Quite apart from residing in the same area, Codner's educational work was well known to Close and his friends. An auxiliary branch of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for educating the poor had been formed in Cheltenham in 1839. On 17th September 1845 Close preached the annual sermon on behalf of this society as he had done in previous years. On the following day he was Chairman at the Annual General Meeting of the Cheltenham Branch of the Society.³ Codner probably returned to Cheltenham to attend the A.G.M. because he asked for letters to be addressed to 13 Lansdown Crescent after that date. Codner must have been confident that he would be supported by Close when he wrote to him on 23rd August. His phrase "in connexion with our Establishment" together with an earlier reference to "schools conducted by Christian teachers belonging to our Church",⁴ suggests that he understood Close's position as a prominent member of the Evangelical Party within the Church of England. It was left to Close to clarify this in his reply. He did so two days later when he welcomed the proposal saying that he

¹Cheltenham Journal, 6th October 1845. See also McCann, W.P., *The Newfoundland School Society 1825-55: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?* in Mangan, J.A., (ed.), *Benefits Bestowed?*, 1988.

²Harper's Street Directory of Cheltenham, 1844.

³Cheltenham Journal, 21st September 1845.

⁴C.H. 2/1/1, p.1.

thought a Normal School which was "conducted on sound religious principles, would not only be an extensive benefit to the country, but would be hailed as such by thousands."¹ However, he continued:

"I could not assist in such an undertaking unless there were sufficient guarantees for the scriptural views of all the parties concerned in it."²

Codner's second letter to Close on 28th August 1845 removed any doubt about the principles on which the College would be founded and organised. He informed him that he had already convened a meeting at Regent Mansion, Regent Street, Cheltenham for 23rd September that year, "for the purpose of forming Rules and Regulations in order to secure the full doctrines of our Church, being clearly taught as expressed in the article of justification by faith. No teacher to be admitted who does not agree on this point."

He concluded this letter by saying that his friends in Cheltenham had asked him to solicit Close for his "valuable support in the formation", but went on to say that if Close was unable to attend, but could see the "necessity of the measure", he should write to him in Dartmouth up to 18th September, after which he would be staying in Cheltenham.³

In view of the fact that Close had arranged to preach on behalf of the Newfoundland Society on 17th August and to preside over the A.G.M. of the Society on the following day, this request seems odd, as he must have known that he would probably see Close before the meeting on 23rd September. The tone of this correspondence and the speed with which it was conducted suggests that it may have been written as a formal record and was probably prompted by Close himself.

The private meeting which Codner organised at Regent Mansions was attended

¹ibid., p.2.

²ibid.

³ibid. p.3.

by nine members of the clergy and ten lay-people, all of whom were from the Cheltenham area except Codner himself. They were well known to Close. The lay members had worked with him on committees before, for example, Lieutenant Colonel Plenderleith was a member of the Vestry Committee and Mr Fenton-Hort had served on the provisional committee which established Cheltenham Proprietary College. Six of the eight clergy present, besides Close, were ministers in Cheltenham whom he had appointed himself. They called themselves "The Friends of Scriptural Education through the medium of the Established Church." The minutes which were written out in Close's handwriting specify that the meeting was held "pursuant to a private invitation from Samuel Codner Esq."¹, though when the names of those present are considered, it is hard to believe that he did not convene the meeting himself. At least when Codner referred to "his friends in Cheltenham" they were no doubt mutual friends.

According to the summary which Close made in the first Annual Report, Codner played a leading role arguing that Cheltenham was a place "peculiarly suited for the location of such an institution." He said the town, "... was very central, it had no Training School in its vicinity, it already possessed many efficient National Schools, from which ... more than two hundred Masters and Mistresses had gone forth to different parts of the Kingdom, and applications were continually made to the Clergy for additional Masters and Mistresses, which they were unable to supply. That for these and many other reasons he hoped that the friends present would consent to the establishment of such a Training School in Cheltenham."

He then submitted letters from twenty-eight clergymen and gentlemen in different parts of the Kingdom, rejoicing in the prospect of such an institution,

¹ibid., p.4.

promising their support and approving of Cheltenham as a suitable place for its establishment."¹

The reasons which Codner put forward for choosing Cheltenham as a suitable place for the institution were purely educational. According to this account none of the reasons were controversial, except perhaps the argument that there was no other Training School in the vicinity. However, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol and the Bishop of Oxford did not appeal for support for the joint diocesan Training College until May 1849.²

Codner made no references to Cheltenham as an Evangelical stronghold nor to Close himself and the uncompromising stand which he had made against the spread of Tractarian ideas and practices. Perhaps one wouldn't expect such controversies to be mentioned in an annual report. Certainly the educational reasons which Codner gave for choosing Cheltenham were valid but Close's role as a controversialist and an opponent of Tractarianism was even more important.

"By 1845 three factors proved that Cheltenham was the ideal town in which to establish a training school based upon Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant principles. It already provided facilities for the training of teachers and in Close it had a man of extraordinary organising ability, who deeply opposed Tractarianism. With Close as its head it was guaranteed from the outset that Tractarianism or any other ism should never be taught within the walls of the establishment."³

However, if the summary of the inaugural meeting and the reasons given for choosing Cheltenham are not controversial, the resolutions which were adopted, after a discussion following Codner's speech, leave no doubt that the controversy within the established Church, over the Tractarian Movement was uppermost in the minds of all

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.14.

²Aliquis, Remarks on Archdeacon Thorpe's recent letter to the Mayor of Bristol, 1849, p.13.

³Munden, A.F., 1980, op.cit., p.194.

those who were present. These were:

"1. That an institution for the training of pious Masters and Mistresses upon Scriptural and Evangelical principles in connection with the Church of England is urgently called for at the present time.

2. That this Meeting, having heard the reasons assigned by friends in different parts of the country for the selection of Cheltenham as the place where an effort shall be made for the establishment of such a Training School, unanimously consent to the proposal ..."¹

These resolutions had been drawn up by Close, presumably before he attended the meeting. A provisional committee was then formed "to prepare a code of laws" to correspond with friends and to summon a more general meeting at a later date. Three days later this committee met under the chairmanship of Close and drew up rules and regulations which were accepted with minor amendments at a larger general meeting, convened by private invitation on 21st October 1845.²

In May 1880 Close claimed that the resolutions were all his own composition. Almost certainly this also applies to these rules which named and defined the aims of the institution and framed its constitution. They seem to bear the unmistakeable stamp of Close as a leading member of "the strictest sect of Militant Protestantism at that time." These rules became the basis of the Foundation Trust Deed or "Principle" of 1848.³

"Rule 1. That this institution shall be denominated CHURCH OF ENGLAND TRAINING SCHOOL ASSOCIATION", left no doubt that it was an organisation of the Church of England. The previous title "The Friends of Scriptural Education through the medium of the Established Church" lacked the strong positive

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.24.

²C.H. 2/1/1, p.16.

³See above, p.105.

identification with the Church of England which is conveyed by the new title and the use of capital letters. This was in keeping with Close's own position and character.

"Rule 2. That the object of this Institution is to instruct pious persons as Masters and Mistresses, upon Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant principles, in accordance with the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church", defined the purpose and doctrinal basis of the institution. It stated that it was for the instruction of pious persons of both sexes and reiterated the assertion that its distinct religious character was in keeping with the established principles of the Church of England.

Rules 3-8 were:

"3. That the entire management and control of this institution shall be vested in Two Hundred Members, who shall be called "GOVERNORS": of these one half shall be Clergymen and the other half Laymen, being members of the Church of England.

4. Any Clergyman subscribing half-a-guinea, or any Layman, being a Member of the Church of England, one guinea, shall be a member of the society.

5. There shall be an annual Meeting of the Governors for the purpose of a general inspection of the Establishment, and examination of the Masters and Mistresses in training; when the Committee shall present their Report, and all vacancies in the body of Governors shall be filled up.

6. The Governors shall appoint a Patron, President, Vice-Presidents, Trustees, Treasurer, Secretaries, and all officers of the Society.

7. The Governors, shall annually appoint, from their own body, or from among the members at large, a COMMITTEE consisting of twenty-four persons, half of whom shall be Clergymen, and half Laymen; of these any five shall form a quorum. The executive power shall be vested in this Committee: they shall appoint the Training Master and Mistress - they shall determine on the system of education to be

adopted, and the books to be used - the qualifications of persons to be admitted into training, and the terms on which they shall be instructed.

8. A special general meeting of the Governors may be called at any time by the Committee, or at the request of any twelve Governors conveyed to the Secretaries; fifteen days notice shall in all cases be given by circulars, stating the object of the Meeting."¹

These provided the Institution with a constitution which was designed to ensure that the objectives defined in Rule 2 would be maintained indefinitely. Of these, Rule 3 was by far the most important. The cumbersome device of having 200 Governors was adopted to ensure the national and Evangelical character of the college.² The meeting of the provisional committee on 26th September voted for 100 Governors but this number was doubled at the general meeting on 21st October.

The size of the governing body was intended to ensure that even if some members were influenced by the Tractarians, their apostasy could be contained and rendered ineffective by sheer weight of numbers. Moreover the hundred lay members would help to ensure against religious change. Close believed that the best way to combat the spread of Tractarianism was to give more responsibility and control to the ordinary lay members of the Church. The size and constitution of the Committee were intended to have the same result but Rules 5 and 8 were additional safeguards. Close most probably used the Church Extension fund (f 1844) as a model when he drew up the constitution since its purpose was very similar; in this case to counter the influence of the Ecclesiologists who had taken over the National and Diocesan Church Building Societies. Lord Ashley was elected President of this society and the committee consisted of thirty-seven Evangelical Clergy including Close, and twenty-

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, pp.15 & 16.

²Challinor, E.B., 1978, op.cit., p.6.

seven laymen. The aim of this society was to build and endow churches and to secure a faithful ministry by vesting the patronage in suitable trustees.¹ The controversial St. Peter's Church which was consecrated in 1849 was built by this society.

The threat of apostasy was very much in Close's mind at that time. On August 4th 1845, he made a speech on joining the British Society for promoting the Principles of the Reformation when he said "the times are changed, fearfully ... and I think this whole country is in a transition state towards Romanism."²

On 9th October 1845 Newman had announced his decision to become a Roman Catholic and on 25th October, only four days after these rules had been adopted, Close explained at the Annual General Meeting of the London Hibernian Society why he no longer trusted the National Society:

"For years gone by I have advocated the principle that the Church of the people ought to educate the people" he said, "the National Church should be the medium of national instruction but when I see, day after day, the defection and apostasy of the Church of England Clergy, I cannot feel the same repose were the Christian education of the people to be exclusively committed to the Church of England."³

Twenty-six supporters attended the first General Meeting on 21st October 1845. In the report which he wrote in 1847 Close stressed the attendance of Clergymen and gentlemen from Brighton, Bath, Clifton, Birmingham and other places. However, the extent to which support was centred in Cheltenham is evident from the membership of the Provisional Committee which resigned at the beginning of the meeting and the Executive Committee which was appointed in its place. The members of the Provisional Committee (9 Clergy and 10 Lay men) were all resident

¹Munden, A.F., 1980, op.cit., p.125.

²Cheltenham Journal and *Stroud Herald*, 11th August 1845.

³Cheltenham Journal, 27th October 1845. See also p.84.

in Cheltenham apart from the Rev. E.W. Foley who was vicar of Trinity Church, Tewkesbury and Samuel Codner. Ten Clergy and eleven laymen were appointed to the Executive Committee and all were Cheltenham residents apart from the Rev. E.W. Foley and Codner. Only five who attended on 21st October were not appointed to the committee. These were the Rev. C.H. Bromby who later became the first Principal of the College, three who had travelled from Bath and Sir Thomas Blomefield, Bart, who was from the London area. The first College Minute Book makes no reference to supporters from Brighton, Clifton, Birmingham and elsewhere.

Full lists of these two committees are given below:

The Provisional Committee consisted of :-

Rev. F. Close, Chairman, vicar of Cheltenham

Rev. C.H. Bromby, vicar of St. Paul's

Rev. J.R. Watson, vicar of Sandford

Rev. J. Riddle, vicar of St. Philip and St. James

Rev. D. Robinson

Rev. J. Brown, vicar of Holy Trinity

Rev. W. Hodson, vicar of St. Peter's

Rev. R.H. Whiteway, curate of Holy Trinity

Rev. E.W. Foley, vicar of Trinity Church, Tewkesbury

The lay members were Lieut. Col. Plenderleith, Lieut. Col. Bean, Captain Schrieber, Captain A.O. Molesworth, Dr. Bason, C. Cole, Fenton Hort, S.H. Murley, J. Lewis (all of whom lived in Cheltenham), and Samuel Codner, resident of Dartmouth.

The Executive Committee appointed on 21st October included all of those named above, except for Bromby, with the addition of the Rev. J.F.S. Crabb, vicar of

Charlton Kings, the Rev. Money, curate of Cheltenham Parish Church and George Stokes Esq.¹

At this point the prospects for the institution were encouraging but at the next meeting, which was held on 27th October 1845, only six days after the general meeting just described, all activities in Cheltenham were temporarily suspended. Samuel Codner announced to the meeting that he had visited London and had found so many friends there, who were willing to assist in the management of the projected Training School Association that he felt it his duty to propose:

"That the further proceedings of this committee be suspended, until it be ascertained with greater certainty whether the plan can be carried out more effectually in London."²

The Committee passed his resolution, resolving, that it is desirous "to record its readiness at any time to resign its trust, if it should be thought conducive to the interests of the Association that its establishment should be removed to the Metropolis or to any other more suitable locality, the objects in view being not LOCAL but GENERAL."³

In accordance with this feeling Codner was given authority to correspond with his friends in London to see whether it would be possible to establish a college in the Metropolis. In the meantime the meeting in Cheltenham was adjourned "until the results of these enquiries in London can be ascertained."

The Executive Committee did not meet again in Cheltenham for fourteen months. In his account of the foundation, in the First Annual Report, Close writes:

"Of the proceedings of their friends in the Metropolis during the long period of fourteen months which intervened before any communication was received from

¹C.H. 2/1/1, op.cit., p.6.

²C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.18.

³ibid.

them, your Committee are very imperfectly informed. They have reason to believe that many meetings were held, in which some of the most eminent of the religious men in town, both clergy and laity, took part - and that they were assisted and presided over by LORD ASHLEY."¹

Some of the minutes of the meetings which were held in London are available and show that a great effort was made, even though little was achieved. Meetings were held in rapid succession at No. 18 Sergeant's Inn, Fleet Street on November 28th, December 12th 1845, January 9th and January 19th 1846.

Unfortunately existing records of the London meetings stop at January 19th with a note that the meeting was adjourned until February 9th.² The year 1846 passed as unsuccessfully, for the London group, as did the previous year. In the minutes for the first of the resumed Cheltenham meetings we find the following communication from the Rev. Edward Auriol, the Secretary of the London group and later a subscriber to and governor of the Cheltenham Institution. This letter was written in reply to an enquiry from a member of the Cheltenham Committee who was most probably Francis Close himself. It was later confirmed by a private letter from Lord Ashley:

London, 11th December, 1846.

"Resolved - That in the opinion of this Meeting the Rules proposed by the Committee, whose report has now been read, seem well adapted to the object in view: some question might be made as to the construction of the governing body of the Committee; but the impediment which this Meeting principally feels, arises from the difficulty of obtaining suitable persons to carry out the plans suggested: and therefore, understanding that the friends at Cheltenham, with whom the proposal originated, are prepared to renew the prosecution of it, it is deemed necessary to inform them that the parties in London, to whom they submitted the consideration of the subject, do not feel justified in taking on themselves the responsibility of delaying any longer the proceedings commenced at Cheltenham."³

¹ibid.

²C.H. 2/1/1, p.12.

³C.H. 4/1, 1848, p.24.

This letter was discussed at a meeting of the Cheltenham Committee at Regent Mansion on January 7th 1847 when Close once more took the chair and the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved unanimously - That as it appears that the parties in London, to whom the prosecution of this undertaking was submitted in October 1845, do not deem it expedient that it should be carried on in the Metropolis, THIS COMMITTEE DO NOW RESUME ITS LABOURS."¹

It is not clear why the Committee in Cheltenham agreed to adjourn so that Codner's friends could try to establish a Training School in London. C. More suggests that they may have agreed to Codner's proposal in deference to his role in making the original proposal.² Close may have felt that having drawn up the rules establishing the religious principles of the institution, it was more likely to succeed in the Metropolis than in Cheltenham. Certainly it had a better chance of becoming a national institution in London than elsewhere. His own role as a controversialist intensified at this time. In his 5th November sermon, only nine days after this decision, he described the Roman Catholic Church as "a vast machinery of evil" created by Satan.³

Nor is it clear why the London Committee failed so completely to implement any plans in 1846 when they succeeded in establishing the Metropolitan College at Highbury less than four years later.⁴ This college "which was neither local, nor diocesan, nor territorial in its operations and was firmly based upon Scriptural and Evangelical principles in connection with the Church of England" was modelled upon the institution in Cheltenham. Perhaps it was the earlier success in Cheltenham which

¹ibid., p.15.

²More, C., op.cit., 1992, pp.8-9.

³See above, p.80.

⁴It opened in September 1850.

inspired the London Evangelicals to make a second attempt.

In his account of the meeting on January 7th 1847, Close reveals that reasons for the failure in London were discussed before the Cheltenham Committee resumed its labours. These opinions were not recorded, probably in order to avoid giving offence. Close however mentions that "imputations of presumptions on the one hand and incompetency on the other" were made. Beck was less restrained in the account which he wrote a century later:

"So for months in the capital, at meeting after meeting, they discussed and dithered and dawdled, 'till finally they gave it up as a tiresome job, and threw it back to Cheltenham."¹

It may well be that, although support for the idea of a college in London was fairly strong no one could be found who was prepared to take on the responsibility for the work as the letter from Auriol explains.

The Metropolitan Evangelical School Society was formed in East London in 1845 and this may have absorbed the energies of some supporters in the group who were not willing to take on the added responsibility of establishing a training college at that time as well. Also the fact that there were already six training schools for teachers in London by 1845 may have made the project seem less urgent to the Evangelicals who were there. Of these six colleges, three were already independent of the National Society. These were Borough Road College which had been founded by the Royal Lancastrian Society in 1808 and which ceased to be solely monitorial in 1842, the Rotherhithe Congregational Training School, later transferred to Homerton (f 1845) and most important of all, The Home and Colonial Training School (f 1836). This was a Church of England College, which was not under the National Society. This college

¹Beck, W.E., op.cit., 1947, p.9.

prospered and expanded as a result of the government Minute of 1846 and no other college could compare with the Home and Colonial in the variety of its students and courses.¹

J.L. Alexander argues that Blomefield wanted to see an Evangelically inspired college set up in London as a rival to St. Mark's College, Chelsea.² Burgess claims that this was also Close's main purpose.³ However, the determination of other members to set up such a college as a matter of urgency may have been eroded by the expansion of the Home and Colonial Training School. This may have made them less responsive to the opportunities offered by the Minute of 1846 than the Cheltenham Group because they were aware that a college which they supported was already benefitting from the new grants in their area. One other Training School, that at Battersea, was also not under the influence of the Tractarians although it was taken over by the National Society in 1843.

Battersea had been set up as a private venture by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1840 and for many years provided a model for church colleges as far as curriculum and training methods were concerned.⁴ From the beginning however, the Non-denominational character of the institution had aroused widespread opposition. In 1843 Kay-Shuttleworth was no longer able to afford to maintain the college and it was handed over to the National Society. Even then it posed no special threat to the Evangelicals. In fact in 1848 the National Society offered Battersea College to the Evangelicals because it was doubtful whether they would be able to afford to run it themselves. The Church of England Training Schools Association rejected this offer but opened its own college The Metropolitan College at Highbury in September 1850.

¹Fuller, F.W.T., op.cit., 1973, p.71.

²Alexander, J.L., *Collegiate Teacher Training in England and Wales, a study in the historical determinants of educational provision and practice in the mid 19th Century*, PhD Thesis, London University, 1978, p.157.

³Burgess, H.J. and Welsey, P.A., *A Short History of the National Society 1811-1961*, 1961, p.119.

⁴Pollard, H.M., *Pioneers of Popular Education*, 1956, p.262.

If a sense of urgency was lacking and no one could be found who was willing to take on responsibility for the work in London, this was not the case in Cheltenham. Here Close was able to convene a well educated group of local clergy, notables and servicemen who were keen to establish an Evangelical Training School in a notably Evangelical town. Many of them were wealthy, retired or leisured men who were able to devote considerable time to committee work. All this, together with Close's own organising ability, was a great source of strength. In his report of 1847 however, Close suggested that they took on the task because they were "impelled by a simple sense of duty and animated by a just conception of the vast importance of the work."¹

Close explained that at that time their intention was to establish "a very limited Institution, of very humble pretensions." When the various sub-committees were appointed the individuals who were involved had no idea of the burden which they had undertaken.

For years after 1847, he emphasized the idea, based on his own account, that he did not make the original proposal, that the committee in Cheltenham only took on the task out of a sense of duty after the plan had been tried and failed in London and that there was never any intention to compete with the diocesan college proposed in Bristol. This was because the Cheltenham scheme was begun in 1845 and it was a national institution, rather than a local one. As the Cheltenham College soon became the largest in the country he pointed out that this was not part of the original intention since the Church of England Training Schools Association was formed long before the regulations respecting the pupil teacher scheme were published on 21st December 1846. Providentially these made it possible to plan for a much larger institution than originally intended, but this was not anticipated in 1845.

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.19.

The Foundation of the Cheltenham Training Institution January 7th 1847 - 1858

The Cheltenham Committee set to work in great haste. At the same meeting on Thursday January 7th as that at which the London Committee handed the task back to Cheltenham, the chairman and secretaries were instructed to draw up a statement of the present position and a prospectus, which were to be circulated among the friends of the cause. They were to call the committee again when they had received replies offering help and support. Over the next three months replies gradually came in until by Friday March 5th "A hundred Noblemen, Clergy and Gentry", had given their adherence to the Institution.

Close claims that the extent of this support made the committee realise that the Normal School which they had in mind would have to be greatly extended if it were to meet the demands of so many of the clergy and laity for training places.¹ It is however more likely, that Close himself had become aware of the opportunity to obtain financial help from the Government which was offered by the publication of the Minutes of the Committee of Council in December 1846. These instituted the pupil teacher system, the Queen's Scholarship grants to students to meet the fees of the colleges to which they were admitted and the payment of annual grants to training colleges on the basis of examination results, for the Teachers Certificate. A building grant of £50 per student place had been available since 1844. These regulations transformed the economics of training colleges, provided the voluntary societies could meet the standards required by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

At first Close feared that these were unattainable because of the cost but he was encouraged by Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, the Secretary of the Committee of Council

¹ibid., p.20.

on Education. In an interview with him Close was assured of government support but Kay-Shuttleworth told him that a small college would not qualify for assistance:

"You must aim high," he said "... our rule is not to sanction any establishment as a training school unless they have a building and grounds worth £9,000 and an income ... of £1,000 per year." Close replied, "Why Dr. you are stifling our project in it's birth; I dare not look such an undertaking in the face." Shuttleworth answered, "Never fear about obtaining the money, it is as easy to get hundreds as it is tens."¹

Some non-conformist leaders opposed the new government policy. The Cheltenham Free Press contained leading articles on this subject on March 13th and 27th 1847. These voiced the opposition of dissenting groups and include an account of a lecture given by the Rev. A. Martin Browne, Minister of Highbury Chapel, who opposed the plan on the grounds that the state should not interfere in educational matters at all.²

As we have seen, Close had no such reservations and became a leading advocate of cooperation between the Government and Churches over education. His long experience of establishing schools in Cheltenham and the difficulties of maintaining them once the initial enthusiasm had died away made him realise that as far as the proposal for a training college was concerned, the Minutes of 1846 made the whole project financially viable. The problems of maintaining the college, providing food and accommodation and paying the staff could be reduced to manageable proportions provided that the college was efficient. In 1847 he ascribed the delay of over a year, caused by the attempt to establish the college in London, to Divine Providence and pointed out that:

"Had the design been carried out a full year before the celebrated "Minutes in

¹Close, F., *National Education*, op.cit., 1847, p.20.

²Cheltenham Free Press, March 17th 1847.

Council", appeared - and the Government Plan of Education was adopted, in all human probability, the scheme would have been of such a limited character that it would have been impossible subsequently to accommodate it to the Government requirements, and the result must have been that the effort would have dwindled into nothing: for it is now self evident to all who have studied the subject, that no Normal or Training Institution which is not in connection with Her Majesty's Committee of Council on Education can ultimately maintain its existence."¹

The Committee Meeting which was held on Friday March 5th 1847 considered how to use the promises of support which had been given, to the best advantage. The members also wanted to be certain that their determination to fall in with the Government scheme would meet with approval from Evangelicals elsewhere. To this end the members passed the following resolutions:

(a) The Chairman and Secretaries are to prepare another circular marked Private and Confidential adding the names of people interested prior to any appeal by advertisement.

(b) The Chairman and Secretaries are to meet those people in London who may be disposed to further the cause of the institution, with a view to obtaining further patronage from them and to confer with them upon points touching further proceedings.²

As a result of the second resolution, Close and Bromby travelled to London for a meeting with the London friends on March 25th at Exeter Hall.

Lord Ashley presided at this meeting which was attended according to Close "by a very influential body of laity and clergy." Among those present were The Honourable J.C. Colquhoun who later became Vice President of the Church of

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.17.

²C.H. 2/1/1, p.15

England Training Schools Association.¹

Close reported on the progress which had already been made by the association and received the support which he had hoped for. Three important decisions were made at this meeting; to obtain government approval and finance; to advertise the intention to establish a national Evangelical Training School in Cheltenham, and to ask for support. These decisions were expressed in a resolution, which was passed unanimously and became part of the text of the first public advertisements.

"That this Meeting, deeply impressed with the importance of establishing Training Schools for masters and mistresses on Protestant and Evangelical principles in connection with the Church of England, and anxious to embrace the advantages offered by the Government in aid of such designs, is much gratified by the progress which has already been made by the Association at Cheltenham towards securing these objects; and recommends that an advertisement should immediately appear in the public papers, inviting further support, in order that the local Committee at Cheltenham may proceed with their operations as quickly as possible."²

This advertisement which was printed on the front page of the *Cheltenham Examiner* two weeks later, was the first public announcement of the Church of England Training Schools Association and is the date quoted by most authorities for its inauguration though in fact it was formed on October 21st 1845. The advertisement named Lord Ashley as President and gave a full list of the Vice Presidents and the local committee in Cheltenham. It also named four clerical secretaries and listed 137 subscribers, together with their annual subscriptions. The names and addresses of bankers in Cheltenham and London to whom subscriptions could be paid were also

¹C.H. 4/1, 1848, p.21.

²Cheltenham Examiner, April 7th 1847, p.1.

included.¹

Close and Bromby reported to the Cheltenham Committee on April 12th. Having been assured of support from the meeting in London, it decided to start departments for men and women in rented accommodation and on a small scale, as soon as possible. At the same time they prepared an ambitious building scheme to take advantage of the government grants. Having abandoned the cloak of secrecy, it was essential to establish the institution as quickly as possible, before the opposition from the National Society had time to organise. In his account however, Close ascribed his committee's decision to a feeling that Divine Providence had again taken a hand in their affairs.

"Having already received sufficient support to justify the immediate commencement of a Training School of a limited character, they did not feel justified in delaying that important step - and yet they were convinced that unless much greater, and more extended efforts were made, such large sums as the Privy Council required could not by any possibility be raised. Perceiving however, as they thought, the hand of God in this matter, they resolved again to attempt both objects - to secure immediate benefit by providing two establishments, one for Masters and another for Mistresses, commencing operations in tuition in the best manner circumstances would allow; while they commissioned their Chairman and Secretaries, in a minute passed on the first of June, singly or together, to act as Deputations in forming corresponding committees in various parts of the country; as well to assist in raising funds, as to aid the Executive Local Committee in selecting proper persons as Students in their Normal School."²

The committee on April 12th immediately tackled the practical problems

¹ibid.

²C.H. 4/1/1 1848, p.24.

connected with the establishment of the new Training Schools. First it coopted six clerical and five lay members, from the supporters in London, to the committee. These included Mr Valpz who joined Lieutenant Colonel Plenderleith on the finance committee. There was no shortage of individuals who were willing to take on responsibility. The Rev. Bromby had offered to serve as Principal in an honorary capacity for the first year and was appointed. He, Close and the Rev. J. Browne, vicar of Holy Trinity Church, were appointed as examiners of candidates for entrance. A training master and mistress (Mr and Mrs Waterworth) were appointed for £120 per annum and it was decided to use St. Paul's school as a model school for the first year, so that the students could be "under the pastoral charge and superintendence of the Rev. Training Principal." A house committee was appointed and empowered to take a furnished house at a rental of not more than £60 a year. Finally bankers were appointed.¹

Eight days later the house committee reported that it had made arrangements to rent "Monson Villa" for £55 per annum, exclusive of the kitchen garden. Close had lived there for several years after 1839 and only moved out when his parishioners purchased "The Grange" for him. It was resolved to occupy these premises without delay. This meeting also discussed and adopted general rules which had been drawn up by the Clerical Secretaries about the aims of the institution and the admission of students. These secretaries were the Rev. C.H. Bromby, Rev. W. Hodgson, Rev. E.W. Foley and John Lewis Esq. These rules were very similar to those which had been adopted by the general meeting in October 1845 except that "prepare" was substituted for "instruct" and new emphasis was given to scientific training.

"First ... the object of this Institution is to prepare by a Religious, Moral and

¹C.H. 2/1/1, p. 15.

scientific training, upon Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant principles, in accordance with the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, a supply of Masters and Mistresses for the National Infant and Parochial Schools."¹

The entire control of the institution was vested in two hundred life governors as in 1845, but the immediate direction was given to a management committee of forty-eight governors, twice as many as before, and the control to a Principal in Holy Orders and Training Masters. Questionnaires for referees and candidates were also discussed and approved. These were intended to ensure that acceptance at the college would be reserved for those who were of the right religious persuasion. Referees were requested to make the strictest enquiry into the moral and religious character of the applicant and not to answer the questions "as a matter of course."² The rules of admission specified that "pupils" should be sixteen years of age and have minimum educational attainments.

At the next meeting of the committee on May 14th, the house committee was again asked to rent accommodation. Over the intervening period of three weeks it had become apparent that the number of Mistresses to be trained might be higher than was previously expected and the decision was made to take female pupils as soon as possible. They would pay a fee of 2 gns. as a deposit and ten shillings per week for board and lodging. The house committee was asked to act with the utmost expedition and to rent a property for not more than £25 per year. The committee decided to advertise for a training mistress at a salary of £25 per year plus board and lodging.³

On June 1st the house committee reported that they had rented a house called St. Julia's for £30 per annum, but the owner had agreed to pay for all taxes and external repairs. They announced that both houses would be ready for occupation

¹C.H. 2/1/1, p.16.

²ibid.

³C.H. 2/1/1, p.21.

within a week but the minutes ended with this request:

"That the members of this committee be requested to meet at Monson Villa tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, when the Training School for Male Teachers will be opened."¹

Close recorded the opening of the college in the minute book as follows:

Monson Villa

Wednesday June 2nd. 1847.

Present. Revs. F. Close - J. Browne - C.H. Bromby - M. Genest - S. Westbrook.

Col. Plenderleith - Capt. Schrieber - J. Lewis and N.H. Valpz Esq.

The Training School for Male Teachers was opened this day - when a prayer was offered by the Chairman for the blessing of God upon the Institution - Five teachers entered upon the course of Instruction.

Francis Close, Chairman."²

He described it at a greater depth in the first annual report:

"These preparations having been made, the Institution was opened on June 2nd, 1847, when the Committee having assembled with the Pupils, the undertaking was earnestly commended to the favour and guidance of Almighty God, in solemn prayer; and his blessing and protection, for the benefit of whose Church it is established, was expressly invoked through all its future seasons of trial and danger. Seven students were that day admitted; which number has gradually increased to the maximum amount which the house can with convenience accommodate."³

The women's department opened soon afterwards. By midsummer 1848 there were twenty-three male and fourteen female students in residence.⁴

Soon after the meeting in Exeter Hall on 25th March, Close and Bromby approached Kay-Shuttleworth to see whether their plans for a permanent institution would qualify for government funding. On 14th May they received an encouraging

¹ibid., p.23.

²ibid.

³C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.25.

⁴Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, op.cit., 1848, p.59.

reply:

"My Lords are disposed to encourage with liberal assistance, and with the same degree of confidence which they have shown to other training schools, a well-defined effort to establish such a school at Cheltenham, in which the permanency and the efficiency of the institution may be guaranteed by the character of all the arrangements, and by the liberality of the subscriptions by which it is supported."¹

The committee meeting on June 1st therefore authorised Close as Chairman and the clerical secretaries, Bromby and Foley to act as deputation speakers in various parts of the country and to form corresponding committees to assist in the raising of funds.² In effect Close did most of the deputation work himself between 1847-1850 when he addressed meetings and congregations in towns where there were Evangelical groups all over Britain. Although this was a time of "unprecedented difficulty and financial pressure", he claimed that within eighteen months a gross amount of £6,670 had been received or promised and that this together with a government grant of £4,100 had already covered the cost of the building.³

In 1850 the Rev. H. Moseley H.M.I. reported to the Committee of Privy Council on Education that the foundation of the training schools in Cheltenham

"is in a great measure due to the exertions of the Rev. F. Close; and it is chiefly by his advocacy in different parts of the country that there has been raised, for this object and for their maintenance, during the three years terminating at Christmas 1849, the sum of £19,248.7.6. including a government grant of £4,100.0.0., and fees of students amounting to £2,271.0.0."⁴

The local auxiliary committees and corresponding committees which were

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.23.

²ibid., p.24.

³Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, op.cit., 1848, p.61.

⁴The Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, Vol 1. 1850-51, 1851, p.55.

established after these visits provided funds and recommended suitable candidates for training. One of the first and most important corresponding committees was formed in Bristol in July 1847.¹

On October 8th 1847 the Cheltenham Committee sent "a Memorial" to the Committee of Privy Council on Education requesting a building grant for a college for sixty men which would be built at an estimated cost of £9,000. including the site.² This grant was set at £50 per student place. On 2nd December the committee offered £900 for a three acre site near Wellington Square with an option to buy another acre within two years. On 27th December advertisements were placed in the National papers for architects to submit plans for the building. Altogether fifteen plans were received and Bromby and the association's solicitor travelled to London to meet the advisor to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education with the three plans which were considered most suitable. Those by Elmslie and Lee were recommended but their detailed estimate of the cost which was £8,466 was considered to be too high.

In the meantime Miss Jane Cook (1775-1851), a local resident who founded several charities and was well known to Close, offered a six acre site opposite St. Paul's Church as a free gift which the committee accepted on 21st February 1848.³ She also promised to contribute £500 once the building work had started. This gift of land which was valued at £2,500 made it possible to increase the size of the college to accommodate eighty students, thus qualifying for a Government grant of £4,000. On 26th April 1848, the local architect S.W. Daukes who had designed St. Peter's Church, Cheltenham for the Church Extension Fund, was asked by the committee to prepare plans for a college of this size which was to cost no more than £8,000. These

¹Aliquis, op.cit., 1849, p.13.

²C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, pp.28 & 29.

³C.H. 2/1/1, op.cit., p.38.

were submitted to the committee on 8th May 1848 and accepted by the Committee of Council on Education on 27th November 1848.¹ The site given by Miss Cook was not available for building work to start until 25th March 1849. On 27th February 1849 the First Annual General Meeting of the Governors was held at the Town hall when Close's report, including his account of the foundation was accepted. The new Principal, Bromby, made his first annual report on the state of the pupils at both Training Schools, and the principles on which they are conducted. This report included a complete list of friends and subscribers.²

Lord Ashley M.P., later Lord Shaftesbury, was not available to preside as President at the first A.G.M. but he laid the foundation stone on April 19th 1849 and spoke at length about Evangelical beliefs and the work of the training college. The inscription on the foundation stone records this event and defines the objectives and distinctive religious doctrine of the institution.

"This stone was laid by the Right Hon. Lord Ashley M.P., President of the Church of England Training Institution, at Cheltenham. This institution was founded for the purpose of instructing persons as masters, for any part of the United Kingdom upon Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant principles, in accordance with the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church. April 19th 1849.

S.W. Daukes, architect. Thomas Haines, builder."

This is also true of the memorial stone which commemorates Miss Cook's generosity.

"The site on which this college is built, and the extensive grounds around it, consisting of nearly six acres of land, together with the sum of five hundred pounds, were the munificent donations of Miss Jane Cook, a native of, and a constant resident

¹ibid., p.50.

²ibid., p.62.

in Cheltenham. A testimony to her value of the principles on which this college was founded, and a record of her desire that they may be faithfully observed unto the end of time. AD 1849."

Both are situated in the front porch of the men's department building, later St. Paul's, which is now known as Francis Close Hall. The original building set round an open quadrangle included dormitory accommodation for eighty students on the first floor with a lecture room, class rooms, a dining room, sick bay and day room on the ground floor.¹ There was also accommodation for the Principal, Vice-Principal and Model Master. The architectural style "domestic middle pointed of the fourteenth century"² was impressive and likely to overawe new students from working class homes. David Verey, the author of *The Gloucestershire Buildings of England*, considers this to be the best example of a nineteenth century Gothic building in Cheltenham.³

On the day the foundation stone was laid, the Rev. Hugh McNeile (1795-1879) preached the sermon in St. Paul's Church. He chose the text from James I, Verse 8. "A double minded man is unstable in all his ways." A collection for the training institution raised £48.4s.1d.⁴

The building was completed and opened for occupation on 6th April 1850⁵, though the men did not leave St. Julia's where they had been accommodated until 1st June⁶. The cost of furniture and fittings for the new building had to be met. To defray part of this cost, a second "Memorial" was sent to the Committee of Council on Education on 6th May 1850 asking for a further grant of £1,150. In this, they estimated that the total cost of the college, including fittings amounted to £17,000. It

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1850, p.34.

²The Civil Engineers and Architects Journal, Vol, XVII February 18554, p.41.

³Quoted in More, C., op.cit., 1992, p.193.

⁴Cheltenham Journal, 23rd April 1849.

⁵C.H. 2/1/1, p.90.

⁶ibid., p.89.

pointed out that as a national college it received no support from the diocese and argued that the government grant of £4,100, which had already been received was not sufficient.¹ On July 8th the Committee of Council granted £400 in response to this request, but a year later Close complained:

"After an influx of magnificent contributions adequate to the completion of the building ... the alms of the Church were suddenly suspended; the internal fittings, dwelling and educational furniture were not supplied; similar pressing demands for the Female Institution were left wholly without means of provision."²

The situation was complicated by the expansion of the training school for women. In December 1849 it was decided that Monson Villa was no longer large enough. By that time, seventy-three female students had attended the college, though many had already left. Twenty-six were resident in 1848.³ On 14th January 1850 the house committee rented the old general hospital in the High Street for £150 per annum. This building (now called Normandy House) had become available following the collapse of the Oxford and London Railway Company which had acquired the building when the new hospital opened in 1849. The Railway Company had paid £6,000 for the building which was part of the proposed route of their railway.⁴ Perhaps it is not surprising, considering the effort which had been made to raise the money for the permanent building for men, that Close and the committee decided at that stage not to purchase this site for the women's department. In 1847 Close explained why the decision to build a college for the men and to accommodate the women in rented premises had been made.

"With regard to the Female branch of the establishment, that must be

¹C.H. 2/1/1, p. 91.

²C.H. 4/1/1, 1851, pp.25 & 26.

³Close, F., *Cooperation ... Recommended*, 1848, op.cit., p.60.

⁴Cheltenham Journal, 16th April 1849.

maintained on a humbler scale, until the larger Institution for Masters is completed. The applications for the admission of Masters is at present four to one, compared with that of Mistresses; but the education of the latter will be as carefully attended to as the former, in order that they may obtain certificates and the Government Premia."¹

In that year 18 men and 6 women were trained. During the next four years however, numbers were almost equal (133 men and 131 women) and the women stayed longer. It is therefore difficult to explain why the provision of a permanent building for the women was delayed for so long especially as building grants continued to be available on the same terms as for the men until 1860. It seems most likely that the generally accepted view that men were more important than women influenced this decision.

However, for a time the premises in the old hospital were considered quite suitable for women: "The secluded character of the buildings, its extensive garden, its contiguity to the practising schools and its internal accommodations" were all points in its favour. By the end of the year it was known as St. Mary's Hall. This name was first used in the minutes for 9th December 1850.² However, because it was only rented, the female training school was considered in 1851 "a mere appendage at present to the college for male students." As a department it was cheaper to run, the admission fees per annum including food and accommodation were £20, compared with £25 for men. Yet at times of financial crisis, proposals were always made to retrench by closing the women's department, even though it was so successful. In 1848 Close had said:

"We wish to have a building capable of containing eighty masters and sixty

¹C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, p.34.

²C.H. 2/1/1, p.99.

mistresses"¹, as though he intended to build for both sexes. In fact it was not until 1858 that the decision was made to purchase land and to erect a building for sixty female students at a cost of £5,000.² This decision was not implemented until July 1867 when a site was purchased for £2,100.³ In December 1867 an estimate from Messrs. J. Brown and Son of Cheltenham was accepted⁴ and the new St. Mary's Hall which cost £7,700, including the site and fittings, and could accommodate 59 students, was opened on 11th August 1869. By that time Close had been Dean of Carlisle for over twelve years but he often travelled to Cheltenham to preside over meetings at the College. His influence was therefore a factor in the provision of a permanent building for the female students in 1869, so completing the institution which he had planned in 1847.

Close's reasons for the foundation of a National Evangelical Training College in Cheltenham have been discussed and the key role which he played at every stage has been outlined. In his account of what happened at that time he chose to minimise the controversial, even conflictual nature of the institution and his own role in establishing it in Cheltenham. However, Lord Ashley had no doubts about either the objectives of the institution or who was responsible for "depositing it" in Cheltenham. When he had laid the foundation stone of the men's department he spoke of the real purpose of the training school which was to develop men and women of principle and good character who would spread the Evangelical faith and combat the spread of Popery.

"Depend upon it, that the value of your school, and the efficiency of schools in general ... will depend upon the personal and individual character of the

¹The Pulpit, No 1399, op.cit., p.360.

²C.H. 2/1/1, 5th June 1856, p.167

³C.H. 2/1/1, Book II, p.73.

⁴ ibid. p.82.

schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and, as they are, so to a great degree will be the pupils confided to their charge."¹

He continued by citing an example of "the enemy sowing tares" explaining that in a great town in the North where Protestants and Catholics had agreed to a form of "combined education" the Protestants had been outwitted by the Catholic Bishop who had agreed to all their proposals with regard to the use of books, including The Bible, but insisted on one point only, that of appointing the schoolmaster. This led to laughter and he concluded:

"He did appoint the schoolmaster, and in twelve months after that time, the committee was astounded to see that notwithstanding the written rules, notwithstanding the principles, and notwithstanding the Bible itself, nineteen twentieths of the children were, to their very hearts core, sound, reflecting, and determined Papists."²

At this point, according to the press report, a voice called out "That's true" and there was prolonged applause. Speaking of Close he left no doubt that he regarded him as responsible for establishing the institution as "a fountain of Cheltenham light."

"I think the thanks of the town of Cheltenham are due to your excellent pastor - to that excellent Minister Mr Bromby and to all those who have been joined in this great work for the purpose of making Cheltenham a centre of religious influence, a fountain ... of life and light in many parts, not only of this Kingdom but of the varied regions of the world. It is a very great honour that Cheltenham has been chosen to be that centre, and your thanks are due to your excellent pastor, who will give his thanks to God that it was put into his heart to make the effort to have deposited here, to have placed here this institution, which will not only be a source of honour,

¹Cheltenham Journal, April 23rd 1849.

²ibid.

but a source of incalculable blessing to the community."¹

¹ibid.

PART SIX**The Government of the Institution 1847-78**

According to the rules which were drawn up by Close in September 1845 and adopted by the general meeting on 21st October¹ the entire management and control of the Institution was vested in two hundred life Governors, half of whom were clergy and half laymen. This body met once a year at an annual general meeting. These were usually held in February or March though in 1863, '65 and 1870 they were delayed until June. Special general meetings could be convened by twelve life Governors acting together or by the executive committee after fifteen days notice.² Only one such meeting was held during this period on 1st September 1863. The annual general meeting was empowered to appoint an executive committee from its own members. It received and discussed the annual reports of this committee, appointed a Patron, a President and all the other officers, and voted on resolutions proposed by members. It also had powers to inspect the Institution and examine the students in training, though in effect these duties were carried out by sub committees.

The executive committee was to consist of 48 life Governors, half clergy and half laymen who were elected annually by the Governors. They were responsible for all matters of detail in the administration of the college including the admission of students, the appointment of staff and the system of education. In practice it was found that the great majority of members of the committee were unable to attend the monthly meetings.³ Those who did attend were nearly all resident in Cheltenham and were well known supporters of Close. Several of the clergy had been appointed by him. Those who attended regularly had previously been members of the

¹ See p.163.

² C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, pp.15 & 16.

³ C.H. 4/1/18, 1865,p.19.

provisional committee in October 1845. Close was elected chairman and an ex officio member of all sub-committees on October 8th 1847. He held these posts until he went to Carlisle in 1856.

Meetings were held frequently during the first three years. An analysis of attendances at these meetings indicates the extent to which Close exercised control over the executive committee between May 1847 and December 1849. During that time there were 74 committee meetings, 14 in 1847, 34 in 1848 and 16 in 1849. The average attendance was 10 in 1847 and 11 in 1849. During this period Close attended 47 of these meetings (73% of the total) and he acted as chairman at 43 of them. In 1847 alone he presided over ten meetings besides visiting ten cities as a deputation speaker. The Rev. W. Hodgson, vicar of St Peter's attended thirty six meetings, the second highest total. During this time his church was being built in the controversial Normanesque style.¹ Three other Governors, Fenton-Hort, M. Geneste and The Rev. J.F.S. Gabb attended thirty or more. The Rev. J. Browne, Vicar of Holy Trinity, who regularly deputised for Close at meetings, attended twenty eight and acted as chairman at ten. During this period Bromby attended twenty meetings as an ex officio member.

After 1850 committee meetings were held once a month when reports from sub-committees, H.M.I.s and the Principal were discussed. The following sub committees were appointed in 1847, The Examiners, who controlled admissions (these were Close, Browne and Bromby), the Finance and Household Department consisting of Lieutenant Colonel Plenderleith, Major J. Clunes and Captain Bland and the sub committee for Buildings, Furniture and General Repairs, Captain

¹ See p. 41.

Schreiber, Fenton-Hort and J. Lewis.¹ At the same time four Clerical Secretaries were appointed, Bromby, Rev. W. Hodgson, Rev. E.W. Foley and John Lewis, and a Treasurer, Charles Hatt Velley.² In addition five trustees including Close as chairman were appointed to be in charge of the building fund for the men's college. He was also chairman of the group of four committee members who administered the building fund for the Model School 1854-6. These sub committees had their own meetings which were entered into the minute books. No separate records seem to have been made. Close was an active chairman of the executive committee until June 1855. A serious illness kept him from attending until August 1856 and he was appointed Dean of Carlisle in November. Almost all of the decisions which were made prior to this illness were in keeping with his religious beliefs and educational ideas. Members of the committee were keen to establish an Evangelical Training College in Cheltenham and agreed with his ideas. No doubt they respected his organising ability because most of them had served with him on committees during the twenty years when he had been a dominant influence in the town. They therefore gave him their full support and in time, as Close realised that the aims of the institution were being achieved he delegated responsibility to them. In particular the first Principal, The Rev. C.H. Bromby (1847-64) soon acquired considerable responsibility and independence.

One of the duties of the executive committee was to prepare a report for the annual general meeting. Until 1855 these were all written by Close at the request of the committee. He usually submitted a preliminary draft to members before the A.G.M. however. On 8th March 1852 he gave a rough sketch of the report for 1851

¹ C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I, p.35.

² *ibid.* p.36.

to the committee eleven days before the A.G.M.¹ On that occasion he co-operated with Bromby and the two secretaries, J.P. Boulton and J. Lewis, because he had been asked to do so. By that time Bromby's powers were considerable although he was still answerable to the committee. These reports show that Close had a clear understanding of every issue which affected the institution and that he was determined to ensure that his ideas about training teachers were carried out. On several occasions when he was chairman at A.G.M's he presided over the discussion of his own reports though it is probable that many Governors were not aware of this. In this way he was able to influence the Governing body which he had set up.

After 1855 the annual reports were probably written by the Secretary. These were J.P. Boulton 1856-62, J.F. Fenn 1863-66, G.P. Griffiths 1868-71 and E. Cornfield 1875-8. The style in which the reports were written hardly changed during that time. The emphasis which Close gave to the religious objectives of the foundation was maintained and became particularly strident in the reports which were written after 1870. Close continued to influence the Governing body after he moved to Carlisle. This was most notable when he travelled to Cheltenham to preside over the special meeting on September 1st 1863. The cuts in Government grants which had been introduced by the Revised Code threatened the institution. At that meeting a resolution was passed expressing the Governing body's determination to maintain the training college until it had been proved quite impossible to continue.²

C.H. Bromby the first Principal was appointed curate of St. Paul's Church by Close in 1843. This church, which had been consecrated as a free church for the poor in 1831 was under Close's supervision until 1846 when St. Paul's became a

¹ 2/1/6, March 8th 1852

² C.H.4/1/17, 1864, p.19

separate parish with Bromby as Vicar. Bromby's theological views, whilst he remained in Cheltenham were in accord with those of Close and he had attended the inaugural meetings of the Training Schools society in 1845. At the meeting on 7th January 1847 he had been made one of the clerical secretaries who were responsible for the selection of students. On March 25th he went with Close to the meeting at Exeter Hall¹. On April 12th he became, with Close and Browne, one of the three examiners of candidates for entry to the Training Schools. At the same meeting he offered his services as acting Principal in an honorary capacity and this offer was accepted. Six months later on October 8th he was appointed Principal with a salary of £250 per annum "on the mutual understanding that this arrangement is a temporary one." Close was chairman at that meeting.² On November 19th 1849 this salary was increased to £400 per annum plus a capitation allowance of £2.10s for every student above a total of 40, following a report from the finance sub committee.³ Close was again presiding at that meeting. Such a large salary, which was four or five times that of the assistant masters, suggests that Close and the committee recognised that Bromby's role in carrying out the aims of the foundation was of key importance. Bromby's previous experience of teaching was limited. He had been headmaster of Stepney Grammar School between 1841-43 before being appointed to St. Paul's Church. He learned about teacher training from his experience as Principal and played an active role from the start.

Study of the minute book and especially the rough minute book, which is barely legible, suggests that Bromby asserted a degree of independence, during the early years of the college, which might have brought him into conflict with Close if

¹ See p. 175.

² 2/1/1, Vol I, p.26

³ *ibid*, p.77.

the latter had not given way. It has not been possible to confirm whether this happened or not. It seems more likely that Bromby discussed matters with Close and was prompted or encouraged to make decisions which were later endorsed by the committee. Close probably suggested that he should offer to be acting Principal in April 1847. At that time Bromby was 36 and Close 50 years old.

Bromby quickly asserted his independence over the question of management and discipline. In September 1849 a sub committee including Close was appointed to consider this and to draw up rules and regulations.

On 22nd September the executive committee considered a letter from Bromby which explained his attitude to this important aspect of his work.

".... Laws are for the disobedient", he wrote. "Those of our land fill many folios because our land is full of the disobedient. To enact laws where laws are not wanted is almost to challenge the good to deeds of evil. What is wanted in an institution, where the Gospel is the rule is the Gospel statement - "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself".¹

He argued that rules should be kept to a minimum and that the students should be put on their honour to be of good behaviour. After all in a short time they would be expected to set an example of moral discipline and Christian Government.

After listening to this letter the executive committee with Close as chairman resolved that the rules already made by Bromby "should be recognised in order to uphold the sole supremacy of the Principal" but they asked him to report to them on student behaviour every month.² For several years this policy earned favourable

¹ *ibid.* p.74

² *ibid.*

comments in the annual reports by the H.M.I.s. In 1854 "Professor" Moseley¹, who inspected the men's department, said that he "was struck by the right footing upon which discipline was established. Elsewhere he had seen assumptions on the part of masters causing corresponding antagonism on the part of students whilst here there was a sense of duty and moral growth". He remarked on the cheerful spirit which was based on trust at Cheltenham and lamented its absence elsewhere. As far as discipline was concerned "the system that failed elsewhere was the assertion of great authority on all occasions. The idea that students to be kept humble, were to be kept under and kept in their places is a fatal error and produces antagonisms". He knew of a Vice Principal who was leaving his college simply because of the intolerable pride of the young men caused by the continued assertion of a dignified position on the part of the Principal.²

This was a compliment indeed, which helped to confirm Bromby's authority. Breaches of discipline continued to be reported to the executive committee. However these were quite rare and the final decision was always left to the Principal. On November 3rd 1854 a student was reported "for entering the college a second time not perfectly sober."³ The Principal had suspended him and the committee resolved that he should be dismissed if Bromby agreed. In 1853 a student named Colyear was expelled for going to London without due leave.⁴ A student was dismissed for untruthfulness in 1860⁵ and another for theft in 1863.⁶ Bromby claimed that the

¹ Rev. H. Moseley H.M.I., referred to as Professor in the minutes.

² *ibid*, p.152.

³ *ibid*, p.160.

⁴ 2/1/6., 14/4/1853

⁵ C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.1, p.206

⁶ *ibid*. p.248

method of control in Cheltenham "was to give liberty and punish severely". In October 1859 an H.M.I. asked how far this had proved successful. Bromby replied that there was "no deficiency here" but added "we are stricter in signing certificates."¹

As a result of his success the committee rarely interfered in matters concerning discipline. However it reacted sharply when there was a report in 1851 that some students had attended "a Romish chapel". A special meeting was called, with Close as chairman which demanded that Bromby should attend and report what had happened and what steps he had taken to prevent a recurrence.² In 1855 a report that a Roman Catholic doctor had entered the college to attend some students brought a similar reaction. The committee told Bromby to ensure that he should be excluded from the building in future.³ One of the main reasons for the foundation had been Close's concern about the growth of Tractarian influence within the Church of England and the threat of Popery. This accounts for these sudden assertions of authority on the part of the committee.

The same committee meeting which reacted to attendance at "a Romish chapel" also discussed a letter from Bromby which informed it that he had started a school for Tradesmen's sons within the walls of the Training College. The committee expressed their regret "that an opportunity had not been given them to consider so grave a measure and one which may involve such important consequences."⁴ They requested that the plan should not be extended until they had discussed it with him at a special meeting. This objection is surprising in view of Close's own advocacy of

¹ *ibid.* p.195.

² *ibid.* p.101

³ *ibid.* p.164

⁴ *ibid.* p.101

model schools¹ but at the special meeting which followed Bromby's plans were approved. He was authorised to continue the school as an experiment and the idea was put forward that a practising school should be set up within the college to replace St. Paul's Parish school, which had been used hitherto.²

In his report for 1850, which was written soon after this decision, Bromby included a section under the heading "Model or Practising Schools". This was a re-statement of Close's own view that teachers should be trained to develop the minds and form the character of young children and that the real task of the training colleges was to ensure that students knew how to teach. After pointing out that the attention given to professional training was the one feature which distinguished the Cheltenham institution "from kindred ones in England" and that "Moral Training rather than intellectual culture was the main characteristic of this work, he went on to describe the real purpose of the "Training System". The term being used in reference, not to the student but to his future pupils. This was "not only to inculcate abstract truth, much less to teach the mechanical operations of reading and writing, but to induce industrial habits, to control the mental capacities, to form the moral character and to foster those Christian graces which shall fit them for Society now and Heaven hereafter; this is the end of all Education, and this is the aim to which our Students should ever be directed in dependence upon that Holy Spirit, whose aid will be given without measure upon such a work of faith and labour of love."³

Plans to build a very large Model School were discussed in 1851 but the committee insisted that estimates should not overshoot £2,200.⁴ The building was

¹ Close, F., 1848, *Cooperation ... Recommended*, op.cit. p.57.

² C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I, p.105.

³ C.H. 4/1/3, p.26.

⁴ C.H. 2/1/1/ Vol.I. p.128.

completed in 1855. The Committee employed G.F. Bodley, Bromby's brother in law as the architect. This was his first commission.¹

The selection of students was of great importance if the distinctive principles of the foundation were to be preserved; that it should be a Church of England Training College, unconnected with any diocese or territory, "based on Evangelical principles and from first to last conducted on those principles."² For six years the clerical examiners, Close, Brown and Bromby controlled the intake by interviewing applicants and examining their references. In their annual reports Close and Bromby often included evidence of the religious commitment of the students, noting their examination results in Religious Knowledge, naming those who went abroad as missionaries and quoting from reports by School Managers about those who had taken up teaching posts. The influx of Queen's scholars in 1852 prompted the committee with Close as chairman to require all such candidates to come to College at least three days before the examination, so that they could be questioned about their religious views. At the same time the number of clerical examiners was doubled.³ This system must have proved too difficult to operate because in December 1853 the committee gave Bromby full control of admissions "in lieu of the system of the Examination Committee previously in force."⁴ By that time he had almost taken control in any case because he had initiated the decision in 1852 to admit 31 male students free of charge. These were students who had passed the Queen's Scholarship exam, and wished to train at Cheltenham but were more numerous than the quota then allowed. The committee endorsed this decision soon

¹ Subsequently he designed many buildings including Washington Cathedral

² The Pulpit, No. 1399 op.cit. p.361

³ 2/1/6, Meeting on March 8th 1852

⁴ C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I, p.140

afterwards. However the criteria for the selection of students which Close had established continued to be recognised long after the sub committee of examiners was dissolved. In 1859 Bromby explained that he excluded all candidates for Queen's Scholarships whose certificate of religious character was not satisfactory and then selected according to merit.¹ His successor Chamney also claimed that he always considered piety first and intellect second when selecting candidates.² After 1870 the large number of applicants would have made it possible for him to give preference to Evangelicals and still ensure that the majority of entrants were the most able Queen's Scholars, according to their examination results. This could not have been done as far as the male department was concerned between 1864-70 however because of the shortage of applicants.

According to the rules the executive committee was responsible for the appointment of staff. Usually it endorsed recommendations by Bromby or Close. In March 1850 Bromby reported that he had appointed T. Bodley Vice Principal and W. Knighton as lecturer and master of the Model School.³ Thomas Bodley who was the first Vice Principal until 1852 was almost certainly Bromby's brother-in-law. When the time came to appoint a successor Bromby recommended Henry James a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge who had resided with Lord Chancarty for eighteen months as a private tutor for his children. Close interviewed him and reported as chairman to a special meeting of ten members of the committee. He said "that he had had a long interview with Mr. James last evening, that he was much pleased with him and that as far as could be judged he was well qualified for such a position and more particularly that he was satisfied with the soundness of his

¹ C.H. 4/1/13, 1859, p.20.

² C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I, p.141

³ 2/1/6. March 11th 1850 (Monthly meeting at St. Julias)

religious views."¹ Bromby's recommendation was endorsed but Close had ensured that the holder of this important post supported the principles of the foundation. H. James was Vice Principal until 1871.

William Knighton left Cheltenham in 1851 and went to Whitelands College. In June Bromby wrote to John Gill who was the head of Radnor St. School, City Road, London and asked him if he would come to Cheltenham in the spirit of John Wesley to help in the training of student teachers. Gill was a Wesleyan who had been recommended to Bromby as an outstanding teacher by Mr. Fletcher H.M.I. He accepted and was appointed Master of Method on Midsummer day 1851, a post which he held until 1888.² Messrs. Sutcliff and Green were appointed to the Male Department and Miss Reynolds and Miss Hutchinson to the Female Department by the same Committee meeting which appointed Mr Gill.

It was usual for the committee to appoint staff on the recommendation of the Principal though on one occasion in 1859 they refused to do so for a short time. In April Bromby recommended that the Rev. F. Blunt should be appointed to "an office" in the College. This aroused strong feelings and after discussion Bromby's offer to withdraw this nomination was accepted. However in February 1860 Bromby recommended Blunt to a lectureship in the college. He explained "I could, if the committee desire it, devolve from myself the subject of Milton and English Literature and Reading upon him and charge myself more exclusively with doctrinal teaching". This time the committee gave way.³ The nature of the post was more specific and members were anxious to reduce Bromby's work load. As early as 1852 the H.M.Is

¹ *ibid.* January 1st 1852.

² C.H. 29/1/14 An undated letter from John Gill to Rev. R.H.Chamney.

³ C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I. p.200.

Moseley and Bellairs had warned that he "was doing too much for his strength."¹ In 1854 the Committee urged him to take a long holiday. The "memorial" which the members all signed gives some idea of the extent to which Bromby had taken over control of the Institution and won the respect of the committee. It also helps to explain why there is little evidence of friction between him and individual members, including Close. They wrote; "fully appreciating the value of the services of our excellent friend ... to whom God appears to have given many excellent gifts, qualifying him in a singular manner for the fulfilment of the arduous duties which devolve upon him, desire affectionately to request him to relax his efforts for a season, and for two or three months to retire to a foreign country or to some place where he may not be tempted to use his voice, as it is our deliberate opinion ... that humanly speaking nothing short of this will under God perfectly restore his health and ensure to us a longer continuance of his invaluable efforts..."² In May 1859 the committee gave Bromby a gift of £100 as an acknowledgement of his distinguished services.

In his report for 1859 Bromby explained some of his duties as Principal of a large Institution, "involving the charge of 160 young persons. His is not the simple relation with a Board of Directors, but those more intricate relations with the Committee of Council on Education, Her Majesty's Inspectors of Normal Schools, and the Managers of Common Schools which from year to year he supplies with his late Students; and his judgement and wakefulness must be taxed to the uttermost to produce results that can be considered satisfactory."³

He gave as an example of his complex relations with others the fact that his

¹ 2/1/6, November 1852.

² C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I. p.145.

³ C.H. 4/1/11, p.18-19.

ideas on discipline were not altogether in accord with those of the new H.M.I. the Rev. S.F. Temple who had replaced Moseley. Nevertheless the report for that year had been satisfactory. On other occasions Bromby rejected advice from inspectors straight away. In 1853 he rejected the Rev. F.C. Cook H.M.I.'s recommendation that practical domestic economy should be introduced as a subject for the female students. After listening to Cook's report to a special committee meeting attended by seven members, including Close as chairman, he said that he did not think any greater attention given to this subject would "conduce to getting certificates". He said that "it would be better to wait until there is a demand throughout the country for mistresses of that stamp, who would be required to train their school children in such matters."¹ According to the rough minutes his decision was accepted. Apart from Religious Education the committee left the curriculum to the professionals including the H.M.I.'s. Even before 1856 therefore most of the responsibility for the day to day administration of the Institution had been transferred to the Principal. He was in charge of discipline, the admission of students, and the appointment of staff. He corresponded with the Committee of the Privy Council on Education with Managers of Schools and liaised with H.M.Is. He reported to the Governors and the executive committee to whom he was responsible at all times, but as a result of his success they seldom questioned his decisions. In addition Bromby made a major contribution to the training programme itself. Besides lecturing he presided at the weekly criticism lessons given by students² and gave demonstration lessons himself. In his final report on the Male College, "Professor" Moseley, H.M.I. said that "the Principal was the best teacher he had ever heard."³

¹ C.H. 2/1/6 meeting on May 31st 1853.

² More, C., 1992, op.cit., p.68

³ C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I. p.161

His last major action was to launch a vigorous campaign against the Revised Code particularly the proposals which were made for the funding of training colleges.¹ In this he had the full support of the executive committee.² The Revised Code also led to his resignation. In December 1862 he wrote to the committee to let them know that "for private reasons and because of uncertainty hanging over the Institution" he had decided to seek preferment in the Church and might resign. The committee decided to help him in this and sent a memorial in favour of Bromby to the President The Earl of Shaftesbury who promised to lay it before the Prime Minister.³ Bromby was highly thought of in Church circles, being also the vicar of St. Paul's Church. Fourteen months later he was appointed Bishop of Tasmania. On September 27th 1864 he wrote to the Committee on the eve of his departure from Portsmouth and gave his view of their relationship during his term of office. "Faithful to the principles on which the College was founded the Committee has left me at all times a measure of personal independence very conducive to my own comfort and the prosperity of the college."⁴ This is an accurate description of the way the Institution was controlled after the first six or seven years.

Soon after Bromby's resignation Close wrote to the committee to propose that a series of special services and public meetings should be held to appeal for donations for the Institution. On 14th June 1864 Close acted as chairman at the monthly committee meeting which supported this proposal. It also appointed a sub committee of four members, including Close as chairman to appoint a new Principal.⁵ He signed the letter advertising the post and presided over the

¹ *ibid*, p.220

² *ibid*, p.222

³ *ibid*. p.234

⁴ C.H. 2/1/2, Vol.II, p.3

⁵ C.H. 2/1/1, Vol.I, p.259

committee which selected the Rev. R.M. Chamney¹. He also acted as chairman of the Annual General Meeting in 1865 which endorsed this decision. By that time he had been Dean of Carlisle for nine years but his interest had not waned and his influence where the future and the control of the Institution was concerned was as strong as ever as one of the Vice Chairmen.

The Rev. Robert Chamney, had been educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge and after ordination had been a headmaster of a private school and a curate. He was Principal from 1864-1894 and during his first years he exercised the same amount of control over the administration of the Institution as his predecessor. Unlike Bromby however he was not appointed incumbent of St. Paul's Church. The committee had recommended this to the Rector of Cheltenham but he had rejected the proposal on the grounds that "the more I think of it the more I am convinced that the two offices cannot be efficiently held by the same person."² This implied some criticism of Bromby who had held both offices for sixteen years but it left Chamney free to devote himself to the college.

In 1865, following the closure of Highbury College a new committee structure was established in an attempt to combine the strength of the two committees "in order to maintain at least one College in full integrity".³ The committee became the general committee which was to meet twice a year, alternating in Cheltenham and London. From it was chosen "an executive sub committee of 16 consisting of gentlemen living within reach of Cheltenham" but including Close which would be responsible for all matters of detail in the administration and a London sub committee consisting of 16 gentlemen "living within ten miles of London who were

¹ *ibid*, p.260

² *ibid*, p.257

³ C.H. 4/1/18, 1865, p.16

empowered to receive subscriptions, to collect information and to advise with the executive committee."¹ For a time this structure worked well. The report for 1865 claimed that the executive sub-committee in Cheltenham had taken charge of the administration and the London sub committee had "supplied far the larger part of the subscriptions".² The London Committee was responsible for the successful appeal in 1870 which raised over £1000. It continued to raise funds for many years and was not dissolved until 1932. The general committee met twice a year but the real work was done by the executive sub committee and the Principal.³

One of Chamney's first initiatives was to suggest that the augmentation grants to the salaries of three lecturers, which had been discontinued under the revised code should be paid by the committee. This was agreed two months later⁴, in spite of the financial crisis. At the same meeting in December 1864 he reported that the entrance fee of £10 was a hindrance to applications because other colleges charged less.⁵

The executive committee reduced fees in 1866. Chamney's reports drew attention to the shortage of male students on several occasions between 1864-71 and he initiated an appeal and set up scholarships to attract more applicants. The problem was greatest in 1869, the year when the new building for female students was completed, but diminished rapidly after the 1870 Education Act was passed.

As far as the men were concerned he kept to Bromby's ideas about discipline. In 1866 H.M.I. Cowie remarked on "the amount of freedom which is still allowed to

¹ *ibid.* pp.19-20

² C.H. 4/1/19, 1866, p.1

³ More, C., 1992, *op.cit.* p.27

⁴ C.H. 2/1/2, Vol.II, p.9

⁵ *ibid*

the students which notwithstanding some reduction ... is still considerable.¹

By contrast the female students had less freedom. They were closely chaperoned by Miss Reynolds, who had responsibility for discipline in that department. She had been appointed to the staff in 1849, became the Lady Superintendent in 1853 and married Chamney in 1886.

The 1870 Education act improved the status and made the demand for teachers much greater. By 1872 there were ninety male students at the college and "the fears that were excited by the publication of the Codes Revised and Re-revised" had vanished.² However the clauses in the Education Act which were intended to bring a measure of compromise over religious education aroused the opposition of the committee and Principal. The uncompromising way in which they attacked those clauses was in keeping with Close's own opposition to any system of education which was secular and excluded religion. The proposals in the Education Bill were known before the annual report for 1869 was published. This report opened by deploring "the active opposition of some to all definite religious teaching in the elementary education of the poor and the apathy and indifference of others to the vital question at issue", and continued by reminding friends of the principles on which the Cheltenham Institution had been founded. It assured them that "their buildings and endowments will never be alienated to promote education divorced from religion and denied the blessing of God's own Word."³

Subsequent reports stressed the importance of religious teaching again and again. The clauses in the Bill allowing parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction and excluding religious education from inspection were described

¹ C.H. 2/1/2 Sept 20th 1866

² C.H. 4/1/24, 1873, p.19

³ C.H. 4/1/21, 1870, p.14

as "dishonouring to the name which is above every name and framed in ungrateful forgetfulness of those who have long been pioneers in the work of teaching the children of the poor."¹ Close might have written those words himself. The annual reports for 1872 and 1873 included a section on the purpose of scripture teaching together with rules for the preparation of a lesson. These stressed the importance of methods and discipline and concluded "The Word of God has in itself a wonderful power to win and arrest the attention of children. Teach it with thought and heart and vigour, and with that reverence of manner which become one who is doing God's work and realises God's presence ...

When all is done, remember that only the Spirit of God working in and with you can enable you to teach, or the children to learn with any saving result."²

This reference to salvation echoes Close's earlier experience at infant deathbeds and his view that the main purpose of education is to save children from sin. The annual report for 1871 included a long discussion of the extent of the religious difficulty which led to the new arrangements and the influence which religious teaching was having in elementary schools. The author who may have been in touch with Close quoted nine statements by H.M.Is which had been printed in the last report of the Committee of Council on Education. Three had stressed the importance of Bible study including the following:

"It has recently been the fashion to disparage the religious knowledge examination in the National Schools. I quite agree with Mr Matthew Arnold that "the Bible is often the one elevating and inspiring element in the scanty instruction of our primary schools."³

¹ C.H. 4/1/22, 1871, p.16

² C.H. 4/1/24, 1873, pp.16-18 & C.H. 4/1/25, 1874, pp.13-14.

³ C.H. 4/1/25, 1872, p.20

This is reminiscent of Close's view that all subjects should "be taught in the sunlight of scriptural truth."¹

The report assured readers that all of the students at the Cheltenham Institution had passed an internal examination in religious knowledge that year and had been awarded a certificate. Managers of schools were urged to check these certificates before appointing any student from the college. After 1875 all students took the Archbishop's examination in religious knowledge which earned grants from the National Society.

The report for 1875 warned against the spirit of infidelity and secularism which was influencing all classes of society and also against Romanism which was growing more aggressive. It reaffirmed the belief that the mission of the teachers sent out from Cheltenham is one of the most valuable safeguards against these and other adverse influences. "For it should be borne in mind that in many cases the teacher is practically almost the only person to whom the children in our elementary schools can look for moral and religious training. And, humanly speaking, in proportion to the pains bestowed on the teaching and training of the Students will be the result of their work and influence."²

According to this report Chamney was responsible for the religious teaching of the students on which he bestowed "diligent and anxious care". Like Close he was convinced that "no system of National Education could be a blessing to the country unless it were based on the Word of God and conducted by Teachers of a truly religious spirit."³ His teaching sought to develop the Training College in Cheltenham "as a centre of Evangelical Truth" exactly as Close had intended in 1845.

¹ Close, F., *Footsteps*, 1863, op.cit., p.280

² C.H. 4/1/28, 1876, p.13.

³ C.H. 4/1/29, 1877, p.12

The ideas which Close and the founders had about the aims of the institution and the methods by which these could be achieved together with their clear statement of principles, rules and system of control had ensured a full measure of continuity during thirty years of change.

PART SEVEN**The Financing of the Training Institution at Cheltenham 1847-78**

This analysis is based on the accounts which were presented by the sub committee on finance at each Annual General Meeting. These were printed in the annual reports. Separate statements by the building trustees of whom Close was chairman have also been used. These were issued in 1850, when the college for male students was completed and in 1854 and 1855 when the new model school was built. Some information in the annual reports and the first minute book and rules and regulations issued by the Committee of Privy Council has also been used. Details of income and expenditure from these sources have been used to draw block graphs which show that the finances may be divided into three quite different periods.

These were the initial period of the foundation from 1847 - 1853, when the institution was mainly financed by voluntary donations and annual subscriptions from Evangelical supporters, together with entrance and maintenance fees from students: the period from 1854-1863 when Government grants provided most of the income mainly through Certificate Premiums and Queen's Scholars' Allowances and the period 1864-78 when cuts in Government grants, following the introduction of the revised code, led to financial constraints and anxiety as to whether the institution could survive. This was replaced by a more optimistic view after the 1870 Education Act was passed.

Taking this period as a whole, income was received from four main sources. These were Evangelicals who gave donations and sometimes became annual subscribers, students who paid fees, the Committee of the Privy Council on Education which provided grants and a small endowment fund, from the sale of Highbury College. This produced a dividend which averaged £290 per year after 1864. Of these sources the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was by far the

most important. By 1854 Certificate Premiums and Queen's Scholars' Allowances provided 55% of the total income, a proportion which rose to 92% in 1859. Even when these grants were abolished in 1864 to be replaced by a block grant, the proportion of income from Government grants never fell below 64% of total expenditure. The Cheltenham Training Institution was therefore dependent upon Government finance, which was consistent with Close's own views that Government funding on a large scale was essential for education.

The initial period of the foundation 1847-53

When the original plans to establish an Evangelical Training Institution in Cheltenham were made in 1845, building grants of £50 per student place, if matched by voluntary contributions of £100, were available from the Committee of Privy Council. No doubt Close and the Cheltenham committee would have applied for one if their plans had not been delayed for a year, by the attempt to set up a college in London. Even so these plans would probably have been on a small scale. By the time the London committee gave up and the Cheltenham Committee "resumed its labours" on 7th January 1847 the financial prospects had completely changed. This was because the Committee of the Privy Council on Education issued Minutes in August and 21st December 1846, which set up the pupil teacher system and gave details of the grants which would be available to Church Colleges provided they met criteria laid down to ensure efficiency. Kay Shuttleworth defined these as a building and grounds worth £9,000 and an income of £1000 per year. The institution would also have to be open to Government inspection.

On April 12th 1847 the Cheltenham Committee, with Close as chairman, decided to make a prolonged effort to meet these criteria in the long term so that full

advantage might be taken of the new grants. They also decided to open a Training School of "limited character" without delay. These decisions committed them to raising large sums of money from voluntary sources. The training school of limited character which was started almost immediately in rented accommodation cost an average of £3,318 during the first six and a half years, counting 1847 as a half year. Most of these costs were met from students' fees and annual subscriptions because maintenance grants were not available to a large extent until 1851. Between 1847-50 they amounted to only £606 out of a total expenditure of £6,899.

Study of the accounts during the initial period of the foundation shows how the institution might have been financed if the minutes of 1846 had not been issued. Annual subscriptions which were set at half a guinea for clergy and a guinea for lay men provided a guaranteed income over several years. Between 1848-55 they averaged £496 per annum reaching a maximum of £613 in 1850, the year the men's college was completed. These together with entrance and maintenance fees paid by the students were almost sufficient to support two separate training schools for men and women. In 1847 all students paid an admission fee of two guineas, Male students paid £25 for maintenance during the first year and £20 during their second year. Female students paid £20 per year or ten shillings a week for shorter periods. (Teachers who were already in charge of schools paid twelve shillings a week)¹ Between 1848 and 1854 the income from fees increased steadily from £999 to £2,090, averaging £1,571 per year. In 1855 this income fell sharply because of the influx of Queen's scholars whose fees were paid for them.

In fact the first Training School was not as limited as the original resolution might suggest. By 1851 at least 151 males and 137 female students had been trained

¹ CH 4/1/1 1848, Appendix I, Information for Applicants

at Cheltenham. These numbers had increased to 344 and 290 respectively by 1854. Maintaining such an institution without the benefit of government grants was in itself a considerable task.

At the same time however the committee was obliged to raise enough capital to build a training school and accommodation costing £9,000 in order to meet the Committee of the Privy Council's criteria for grants. Assuming that this would provide sixty places for students it would qualify for a building grant of £3,000 leaving a balance of at least £6,000 to be raised from donations. This was a huge sum at the time but Close maintained that the committee was sustained by faith, seeing the hand of God in the way the original plans had been delayed until the publication of the Minutes of 1846.

All of the plans which were made in 1847 were influenced by the Minutes of 1846 even though they did not confer any significant benefit for another five years. In this planning Close played a key role. His previous experience of founding schools and training teachers made him immediately aware of the new grants and how important they would be in the near future. When he appealed for donations to the building for male students he explained:

"such is the nature of the workings of these Minutes of Council, that if a temporary sacrifice can be made and this large sum be once raised and the Institution brought into full operation, an annual income in subscriptions of about £500 will maintain it, although its expenditure may be £3000 per annum."¹

The Minutes of 1846 established the pupil teacher system which ensured a large supply of eighteen year olds for teacher training colleges after 1850. State support was provided for good pupils over the age of thirteen who were willing to

serve a five year apprenticeship as teachers in recognised schools. These minutes also established the teacher's certificate which was awarded to serving teachers and students at Training Colleges following an annual examination by H.M.Is. Colleges which were recognised as efficient were to receive a Certificate Premium grant based on the results of each student who passed. This amounted to £30 for those with a first class grade, £25 for a second class and £20 for a third.¹

These minutes also established Queen's Scholarships which made it possible for pupil teachers, who had successfully completed their apprenticeships in schools to attend a training college of their own choice. To qualify candidates sat an examination which was held annually at each college by H.M.Is, usually in December, a week after the Certificate examinations. The names of those candidates who had passed all over Britain, were arranged in order of merit according to their total marks. Queen's Scholars' allowances were set at £23 per annum for males in their first year, plus £4 for books and travelling expenses, if graded in the first class. The allowance for books etc was increased to £6 in the second year. Female students received £17 plus £3 for books and travelling in the first year and £17 plus £4 in the second year, if graded first class. Students who were graded second class were given slightly less. Although these scholarships were awarded to individual students the money was paid to the college authorities to cover entrance and maintenance fees. In 1858 Queen's Scholarships provided 55.9% of the total income of the Cheltenham Institution compared with 34% from Certificate Premiums. However there was a time lag between its foundation and the payment of the first Queen's Scholars' allowances whilst the first pupil teachers completed their apprenticeships.

Close's calculation of the annual subscriptions which would be needed to

maintain a fairly large establishment was based on his forecast that about seventy students would receive both of these grants each year. Soon after this however, Jane Cook's gift of a building site and £500 provided the committee with a chance to consolidate this building fund or even to set up a small endowment fund. Instead they decided to build an even larger college for eighty male students instead of sixty. At £50 per student place provided, this would qualify for a total building grant of £4,000. Even so this decision meant that voluntary donations would have to be increased by a considerable amount. In 1849 Close amended his calculation to £1000 per year in subscriptions to maintain an annual expenditure of £4,000.

On 1st June 1847 Close, Bromby and Foley were appointed to lead deputations to Evangelical centres to raise funds for this building. In fact Close did nearly all of this deputation work himself. It entailed preaching a sermon about the Cheltenham institution and the importance of teacher training or a public meeting, or both, followed by an appeal for donations and annual subscriptions. New members were encouraged to form corresponding committees.

Between June 1st 1847 and the end of 1848 Close's deputation work took him to Birmingham, Bath, Clifton, Hull, Ipswich, Reading, Taunton, Torquay, Weston-super-Mare, Burton on Trent and Leamington. During this period £5,830 was received in donations and £484 in annual subscriptions though Close claimed that £350 had been promised in addition to this.¹ By 1850 corresponding committees had also been formed in Bridgwater, Brighton, Bristol, Cheltenham, Derby, Edinburgh, Hastings, The Isle of Wight, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Stroud, Rugby, Weymouth and Worcester following more deputation work. The report for that year lists the contributions made by each of these committees. They played an important

¹

Close, F., "Co-operation.....Recommended", 1848, p.61.

role in their area raising funds and maintaining the number of annual subscribers. Their distribution throughout Britain seems to confirm Close's assertion that the Training Institution recruited nationally and had been set up to serve the needs of the whole nation and empire. Between 1847-51 £349 was spent on the expenses of corresponding committees and £130 on deputations.

Close's deputation work was very successful though it probably affected his health. He was seriously ill in the Summer of 1849. By 1850 donations, collections and subscriptions which were spent on the college building for men amounted to £7,219. This together with a building grant of £4,100 and a furniture grant of £400 from the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was sufficient to pay the initial costs of £11,731. However there was no money left over to furnish, equip and maintain the new college for men and the rented accommodation for the women. In 1851 Close complained at length:

"Had the pious friends of Christian Education in the Church of England fulfilled the expectations which your Committee had been led to indulge and supplied them with proper donations equal to the task imposed upon them ...the case would have been very different. But on the contrary, after an influx of munificent contributions adequate to the completion of the building the alms of the Church were suddenly suspended; the internal fittings, dwelling and educational furniture were not supplied; similar pressing demands for the Female Institution were left wholly without means of provision; while to meet the current outlay of two educational establishments amounting to more than £3000 per annum, the annual subscription list has barely reached £600."¹

This complaint and the appeal which followed brought a good response. By

the end of 1853 a further £3,129 was given in donations, quite apart from annual subscriptions which averaged £506. This enabled the committee to spend £2,313 on furniture, fittings, repairs and the Model School between 1851-53. Such items of expenditure remained a problem however because no money was invested to meet emergencies or to pay for repairs. In general, maintenance was charged to each annual account though in 1860 a legacy of £500 was used to carry out essential repairs.

During this initial period voluntary contributions and subscriptions were of vital importance and Evangelical supporters gave generously . The total sum from collections and donations alone amounted to £12,950 by 1853 an average of £1,992 per year counting 1847 as a half year. Even so resources were stretched to the limit on several occasions. In 1848 Close reported that "owing to the non payment of many sums entered as annual subscriptions some donations to the building fund had been used for current expenses ... annual subscriptions of £700 were promised last year but so far only £500 has been received."¹ At about the same time he took over responsibility for a debt of £500 on behalf of the institution. This was cleared by his parishioners, who presented him with a cheque on his return from holiday on 7th September 1849.²

Throughout the period Close and the Cheltenham committee were willing to take risks and incur debts because they knew that all would be well financially once the institution was firmly established. During these difficulties they were able to take comfort from the grants which were already being paid by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. In 1849 Bromby reported that the first Certificate Premiums

¹ CH 4/1/1 1848, p.

² Golding, J. Norman's History of Cheltenham, 1863, pp.581-2.

had been paid and noted the important condition of residence:

"A grant of £130 has been paid from the Committee of Council towards the maintenance of the Institution during the past year. The amount depends upon the number of students who gain certificates having been twelve months in residence; six only have fulfilled these conditions; but had the remaining twelve, who also gained certificates completed this year the grant would have been £385."¹

In the following year he reported that thirty two students had obtained certificates, earning a grant of over £476. After that the income from certificate premiums rapidly increased.

In 1851 Bromby also reported the first intake of Queen's Scholars.

"We open the year with new prospects, a few of the Pupil Teachers have lately completed their apprenticeships and become entitled to compete for Queen's Scholarships. Ten males and two females chose Cheltenham and of these the two females were in the first class and four of the males in the second class."²

The Queen's Scholars' allowances for these students amounted to £163 which together with Certificate Premiums brought the total Government grant to £724.

In his report for 1851 Close thanked God for the supply of students and their success, which had enabled the Committee "by the strictest economy to meet the current expenses". He said that they were indeed "daily bread" to the Committee which from time to time had "approached the very limits which prudence and justice prescribe."³ Student fees had amounted to £1,716. He said that these, together with the income from grants provided the Committee with a more reliable source of

¹ CH 4/1/1 1849, p.25.

² CH 4/1/3 1850, p.

³ CH 4/1/4 1851, pp.25-26.

income "than casual benevolence."¹ 1851 was a complicated year financially but Close's reference to voluntary contributions as "casual benevolence" was unfair to subscribers. The year had begun with a debt of £1,100 following the completion of the building for men and the purchase of furniture. An appeal to 900 clergymen and an equal number of laymen raised £1,500 but the Committee had been obliged to spend £800 of this discharging part of the debt of £1,100 owing to the estate of Mr Haines the builder and a further £600 on furniture for the male and female departments. This still left a debt of £340 owing to Mr Haines's estate for which his solicitor threatened to sue in February 1852. In addition the Committee of the National Schools in Cheltenham decided to sell the old National School rooms connected with St. Paul's Church to reduce the mortgage on them. These rooms were used by the students for teaching practice and so the Committee was obliged to purchase them for £450, increasing the debt to £790.² Nor was that all. The H.M.Is report for 1851 had condemned these rooms as utterly insufficient for use as a practising school by nearly 140 students. If the high reputation, which Cheltenham had reached in the art of teaching and training was to be maintained, new and suitable buildings to accommodate 500-600 children in a Model School were required.³ Plans were immediately drawn up but new regulations concerning school buildings which were issued by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1851 made it difficult to calculate the cost of such a building. Even so Bromby estimated that £2000 would have to be raised from donations and he reported that his students were already raising contributions "for this fundamental and

¹ CH 4/1/4 1851, pp.25-26

² *ibid.* p.28

³ *Ibid.*

indispensable object"¹ at the rate of one pound per head.

In spite of these financial difficulties, which were mainly due to building projects, the report for 1851 maintained that current expenditure was being managed with great efficiency. This claim was based upon H.M.I. Moseley's comparative tables which showed the cost per annum of training a student at the various training colleges. The total cost at Cheltenham was £47 compared with £90 at the most expensive and £37.16s at the cheapest college. Further analysis showed that Cheltenham spent £25.15 shillings per annum on tuition for each student, which was more than at any other college and only £21.5 shillings on board and other expenses. This led to the claim that the Committee spent more on "tuition than the most expensive and less for maintenance than the cheapest of all similar Institutions in the country And on this head they will only add Mr. Moseley's remark that "the cost of tuition must always be great in a Training School as compared with other places of education. The work of teaching the class of teachers who frequent them is more than commonly laborious; and to be successful there must be a division of it between many teachers."²

The report for 1851 which was written in February 1852 also reported a decision which involved considerable financial risk during the following year. At the beginning of 1852 forty three men and nine women who had passed the Queen's Scholarship examination wished to train at Cheltenham. At that time Training Colleges were allowed to admit only 25% of their total number of students as Queen's Scholars. According to this regulation all of the women but only twelve of the men could be admitted. At this point the Principal initiated the decision to accept

¹ *ibid.* p.25.

² P.P. Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, 1850-51, p.33

all of the men who had qualified free of charge apart from the admission fee. He announced this in his report to the executive committee on 9th February 1852 when Close as chairman and eight others seem to have endorsed his decision without hesitation.¹ This was confirmed at the annual general meeting on 19th February and justified by Close in the report which was circulated to subscribers in March. He said that the committee felt that they were under an obligation to the students who had worked hard and to the subscribers who had recommended them but warned that this decision "might involve considerable pecuniary risk and temporary pressure on funds".²

This decision involved the loss of over £700 during that year. The quota system ended in 1853 but Certificate Premiums were reduced for first year students.³ (In modern terms maintenance fees for thirty one students would amount to about £65,000). It is surprising that the committee were ready to make such a sacrifice without a prolonged discussion because of the debts which were being carried forward. However in his comment on the excellent examination results during the previous year Close showed that the members of the Committee were well aware of the educational advantages which would result from the improved quality of the student intake.

"Looking to the permanent support of this Institution, and to the character of the education imparted in this College, with respect to future years, these results gather incalculable importance. Among those of our students who thus succeeded,

¹ Rough Minute Book CH 2/1/6

² CH/4/1/4 1851 p.22

³ CH 4/1/14 1861, p.24.

there was not one who had enjoyed the advantage of previous training as a pupil teacher, there could not have been a single Queen's Scholar. The acquirements of these men, when they came to this College, were for the most part deficient and superficial, and some of them had been lamentably ignorant. But if with such raw materials so great results were produced, what may not now be expected from a body of young men, nearly half of whom have been under a course of specific instruction from three to five years? The educational results to the country at large ... can hardly be over estimated.¹

The influx of Queen's Scholars would also make the finances more secure because they were likely to do well in the Certificate examinations.

This financial risk was amply justified in subsequent years when Cheltenham attracted more Queen's Scholars than any other provincial college. However the lack of an endowment fund and increased dependence upon government grants continued to cause concern. In particular Close was disappointed by the income received from annual subscriptions. He had estimated that this should be £1000 per year but it averaged only £496 during the first six and a half years. Such an increase from subscriptions would have left the committee with sufficient surplus to plan ahead and to respond to recommendations by the inspectors. Close remained anxious about the shortfall in subscriptions and felt that Evangelical friends ought to give more support. He returned to this theme many times. However if voluntary contributions and subscriptions are taken together they amounted to a considerable sum. They fell to just over £1000 in 1850 and 1853 but exceeded this between 1847-52. Throughout this period donations were used for building projects or equipment and were not

available for current expenditure.

In 1855 a report entitled "Notes for a Proposition to Committee and Life Governors 1855" was drafted, probably by Close himself. This urged supporters to give the Cheltenham and Highbury Colleges priority over all other Evangelical causes because of the importance of educating Christian teachers with Protestant beliefs.¹ This report was not published probably because the income from Certificate Premiums and Queen's Scholar's allowances increased so rapidly after 1854. Also Close moved to Carlisle in November 1856 which probably reduced his personal influence on subscribers. However his concern to establish the finances on a firm basis through subscriptions was prudent at that time. If he had succeeded in this the provisions of the Revised Code (1861) which were imposed in 1864 might not have posed such a threat to teacher training in Cheltenham.

A renewed appeal for the Model School, to meet recommendations which had been made by visiting H.M.Is was launched in 1853. This building, was completed in 1855 and cost £2,617 including fittings and interest. It qualified for a building grant of £1,100 leaving a balance of £1,517 to be raised from voluntary donations. Money came in slowly in spite of appeals. The accounts for this building were balanced in 1855 but the institution incurred a debt of £600 which was not cleared until 1861.

¹

CH 2/2/3 1855 Notes for a Proposition to Committee and Life Governors.

The period 1854-63

In the annual report for 1854 Close wrote

"No metropolitan College is more extensive or diffusive in its operations, while without a single exception, not one receives so small a measure of general support from voluntary contributions; in so much, that were it not for the extraordinary success of our Students in the Government examinations, it would be impossible to maintain the Institution; almost nine-tenths of the entire income of the year 1854 have either been contributed by the Students in their annual payments, or have been received from the Government in premiums.¹"

During that year the income from Certificate premiums and Queen's Scholars' allowances was £1,541 and £1,719 respectively or 46% of the total. Fees paid by the students amounted to £1,203 or 22% of income and the sale of books to students raised £153. Annual subscriptions and donations, together with a small legacy amounted to £642 or only 12% of the total income.

Close's analysis anticipated the next nine years, during which the proportion of annual income from Government grants rapidly increased. It rose to 78% of the total income in 1857 and 92% in 1859 remaining at this high level, with slight variations, depending upon the examination results, until 1864. As Government funding increased, voluntary donations and annual subscriptions declined. After 1856 these were entered in the accounts as one item. Between 1856-1863 they averaged only £271 a year, falling to their lowest amount of £154 in 1860. In that year government grants totalled £5,573 or 93% of total income leaving only £391 in

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C.H. 4/1/7, 1854, p.16.

expenditure to be met from other sources. Over the whole period the total revenue from Certificate premiums and Queen's Scholars' allowances amounted to £28,431 compared with £3,233 from donations and subscriptions. This was slightly more than the annual grant which had been made to the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth in 1845.

In addition to these grants the Committee of Council offered to augment the salaries of three lecturers at each training college provided they specialised in subjects which were regarded as of particular value to teachers in training and passed an examination. By 1858 three lecturers at Cheltenham were receiving £100 per annum in addition to £150 which was paid by the college. This grant may have been omitted from the annual statement of expenditure under salaries because expenditure on this item according to these accounts, increased by only £5 between 1858 and 1859 when two members of staff qualified as "Government lecturers".¹ It has therefore not been included in calculations of the percentage of income received from public funds, which may have been higher if this grant towards salaries had been taken into account.

In 1858 students' fees ceased to be an important source of income because all except three of the students admitted were Queen's Scholars. Only 24 students were admitted, who were not Queen's Scholars and receipts from students' fees never exceeded £150 between 1858-63. These changes made the Cheltenham Institution financially dependent upon grants and therefore vulnerable to alterations in Government policy. Close continued to appeal for voluntary support because he recognised that the independence of the foundation was threatened if it relied

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C.H. 4/1/12, 1859, p.26.

entirely on Government funds. Even so voluntary donations continued to decline.

In his annual reports Bromby usually gave details of examination results because they showed how successful the college had been, and also because they provided an essential source of finance. In 1857 he defended the curriculum of training colleges against widespread criticism which had been aired in Parliament and the press by arguing that a glance at the balance sheet would show the true position. Subscriptions and donations had amounted to £395 compared with government grants of £4,600.

"Where the money power lies, there is the governing power. Therefore, let there be no mistake on this point. This Institution must educate its Teachers in the manner indicated by the Committee of Council on Education, or else, in twelve months have an empty college and a bankrupt exchequer. There is no alternative."¹

The report for 1860 indicated the link between examinations and finance even more clearly: "... the foundation of the financial existence of the College is its educational efficiency. Never did pulse answer more truly to the action of the heart than your Treasurer's balance at the bank to the Educational progress of the students as tested by the yearly Government examinations."²

Bromby began his report for that year with the words

"GENTLEMEN, The last year is a year to be marked with a white stone. There has been put forth among our Students a more earnest spirit of work and a deeper sense of responsibility than I have witnessed for some years previously. The result has been a marked improvement in the result of the last Government examination." He listed the examination results; 32 students (11m & 21f) had gained first class certificates, 86 (66m & 20f) second class and 35 (19m & 16f) third class,

¹ C.H. 4/1/10, 1857, p.16.

² C.H. 4/1/13, 1860, p.14.

earning Government premiums of £2,341 for the college.¹ Nevertheless, although these examination results gave great satisfaction the dangers of relying so much on Government grants continued to cause concern.

In 1859 Bromby warned that retrenchment was in the air because of the rapid growth of public expenditure and that the large sum paid annually to the Training Schools "offered a tempting starting point. The Council Office argue", he wrote "that the managers of these institutions were always expected to raise a considerable sum". Cheltenham had been specially cited as proof "that the largeness of the public grant had made voluntary efforts almost unnecessary."² He had answered this criticism by pointing out that the system had been set up by the Committee of the Privy Council and that "under the present mode of dispensing the Parliamentary grant, it must necessarily follow that, as any Institution succeeds in drawing the most intelligent students within its walls by its past educational success, so will it, as long as that educational success lasts, be comparatively self-supporting; while others, not so favoured with the capital of a good reputation, will be struggling for their very existence."³

Mr Martin, secretary of the Highbury Institution had also written to the Lord President to point out that the Queen's Scholars' allowances ought not to be regarded as grants to the Training Colleges but as fees for those who would not be able to pay for themselves. These were students whom the Colleges were obliged to accept on terms lower than they would normally pay.⁴ This was a fair point because

¹ *ibid.* p.16

² C.H. 4/1/12, 1859, p.19.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *ibid.* pps 19 & 20.

these allowances varied from £23 to £17 per annum whereas fees varied from £25 to £20.

The report for 1860, whilst it was positive about the Certificate results also warned that changes might be brought about by Parliament. The Newcastle Commission, which had been set up in 1858 to investigate elementary education, was due to report. However the writer felt that any reduction in the grants to Training Colleges could not be implemented for some time. Promises had been made to so many Pupil Teachers and Queen's Scholars and so much money had been invested in College buildings that "even if a retrograde course should be entered upon, it must be very gradual". The writer continued even more optimistically:

"But your Committee do not entertain serious apprehensions even of this. It is not readily to be believed that any Government will be tempted to tamper with a system which has effected so great an amount of good, and which must be held to have largely contributed to the present improved moral condition of the people."¹

On this point the committee was wrong. The Newcastle Commission report, which was published in 1860, advocated that schools should earn grant by a combination of attendance allowance and achievement in examination. By 1863 the revised code had been imposed on parochial schools. It encouraged a narrow education and economy by concentrating on the three R's. Training Colleges however suffered immediately. There was an attempt to abolish augmentation grants for lecturers which caused indignant protests and was abandoned² but building grants for Training Colleges were abolished in 1860. However the assumption that there would be a delay before new financial arrangements for the maintenance of Training

¹ C.H. 4/1/13, 1860, p.15.

² C.H. 4/1/14, 1861, pp.17/18.

Colleges could be made, proved to be correct. For the next three years the Cheltenham Institution continued to receive grants amounting to more than 90% of the total income. In 1863, the last year in which grants were received from the Education Department under the Minutes of 1846, they amounted to £5,488 towards a total expenditure of £6024. This total however included a credit balance of £471 in the bank. If this is subtracted from expenditure the claim made in the report for 1863 that "the College ... has drawn as much as 99% of its expenditure from the public purse" is correct.¹

The abolition of building grants put an end to plans which had been drawn up only the year before to build a college for the female students. Unlike the "Male portion of the Institution" which had "for some years occupied the college itself, erected at a cost of many thousand pounds, the Female portion" had been accommodated in an old hospital at a rent of £150 per year.²

In 1858 the owners offered this building for sale at a public auction, which prompted the executive committee to make a decision about the future, whether to continue training school mistresses or to concentrate only on the male department. At that time all other Training Colleges were single sex establishments, but "the experiment" at Cheltenham had been highly successful. The report pointed out that

"It was an experiment, by many persons deemed a hazardous experiment, to attempt to carry out a Male and Female Establishment in such close conjunction. It has now the seal upon it of Ten Years complete success. None of the dangers which were feared have occurred ... it seemed to your Committee a most disastrous thing for the great interests of Evangelical religion, should this flourishing Institution cease

¹ C.H. 4/1/17 1864, p.19.

² C.H. 4/1/12, 1859, p.14.

to exist".¹

The decision was therefore made to continue the female establishment permanently and to erect a suitable building at a cost, including the site, of £5000. Half of this would have been met by a Government grant. The Annual General Meeting in 1859 requested the committee to take steps to raise the balance of £2,500 but before this appeal could be made the building grants were abolished and the project was shelved until the Highbury endowment became available. The 1858 report claimed that the female department was managed so economically that "the cost per head for Board is considerably less than at any other similar establishment in the County."²

It drew attention to reports made by H.M.Is to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education which compared the cost of training students at several Colleges during the previous year.

At Cheltenham, by working the two branches together they had educated 100 young men and 60 young women for an annual cost of £5,700. By comparison:- "The Home and Colonial educates 170, females only, for the sum of £7,300; St. Mark's, 102, males only, for £5,500; Battersea, 110, males only, for £5,200; Whitelands, 108, females only, for £4,200."³

Considerable savings were made by having only one Principal and Vice Principal. Also some members of the lecturing staff taught at both establishments. As a result the 1858 report noted "The success of the Females at the Annual Government examinations is now equally conspicuous with that of the Males."⁴

¹ *ibid.* p.15.

² *ibid.*, p.13.

³ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.12.

Consequently their contribution to the finances in Certificate Premiums and Queen's Scholars' allowances was most important.

In spite of this contribution, the abolition of building grants meant that the female department continued in rented accommodation for ten more years.

In retrospect the description of the period 1846-58 as "the golden age of Church Training Colleges".¹ might be applied more appropriately to this period 1854-63 especially if finance alone is considered. Until 1864 there was no restriction on the grant which colleges received for success in the Certificate examinations and for attracting Queen's Scholars. Cheltenham earned a higher proportion of income in this way than any other training institution. Nevertheless the years after 1858 were marred by great anxiety because of changes in Government policy. Rumours of change in 1859 and 1860 were confirmed when the Revised Code was issued in July 1861. This was amended in February and March 1862 and the final version which affected Training Colleges was approved on 9th May 1862. A draft of these regulations was received by the executive committee in January 1863.² It was therefore some time before the true extent of the cuts in the Parliamentary grant became known. During the interim period from July 1861-May 1862 Bromby campaigned vigorously to persuade the Committee of the Privy Council on Education to reconsider its proposals. In particular he condemned those which threatened the future of Training Colleges by altering the Pupil Teacher System and undermining the status of qualified Teachers. The annual report for 1861 claimed that the Revised Code not only interfered with the Pupil Teacher system but practically abolished it.³

¹ Burgess, H.J., *Enterprise in Education*, 1958, p.124.

² C.H. 20/1/22 "Draft of Committee of Council on Education grant proposals", January 1863.

³ C.H. 4/1/14, 1861, p.17.

It pointed out that "Training Colleges are built upon the pupil teacher system" and outlined how the task of educating and training teachers had been financed over the previous seven years.

"Hitherto the pupil teacher has been the Child of the Government. The Council Office has apprenticed him, has paid for his tuition, has watched over his character, examined into his proficiency, and provided largely towards his maintenance. When his time was out, it allowed him to select his College, it sent an examiner to certify his fitness, it thereupon made him a Queen's Scholar, and it paid the College £23 a year for boarding him Further to stimulate the College to educate him thoroughly, it examined him at the end of the first and second years, and made a further payment to the College for his education in proportion to his efficiency" and concluded "...If "payment for results" is the "cry" we have it here to perfection".¹

In a letter to Lord Shaftesbury Bromby forecast that the number of Pupil Teachers and Queen's Scholars, seeking admission into the provincial training colleges, would be reduced to 150 within a few years. This would lead to the insolvency and bankruptcy of many colleges.² His calculation, which was made before the revised arrangements for funding Training Colleges were known, was almost correct. In 1867 only 244 men and 428 women sat for the admissions examinations in the whole country; of these Cheltenham received 32 men and a full quota of women".³ Between 1861-64 the number of Pupil Teachers admitted to

¹ *ibid.* pp.19-20.

² *ibid.* p.25.

³ C.H. 4/1/21 1868, p.17

apprenticeships fell from 3092 to 1895.¹

When the new rules for the funding of Training Colleges were known Bromby forecast that the severest blow would fall upon Cheltenham "because it has hitherto depended most entirely upon the public grant."² The executive committee at Cheltenham had been informed that from 1864 the maximum grant would be limited to 75% of expenditure during the previous year. Whether even this percentage was granted would in future depend on the number of students in residence for continuous training throughout the year. In no case would the grant exceed £50 per year for each student. Within a few years the grant would also depend on the number of teachers placed in schools who had completed a two year course of training over the last five year period. In addition the Model School would now receive grants in the same way as the Parochial Schools.³

Following the publication of the Revised Code in 1861 the future of the institution and the possibility of closure was considered on several occasions. In 1861 the executive committee deferred this question for twelve months because the Certificate Premiums likely to be paid for examination results at Christmas, together with a balance of £540 in the "Building or Repairs and Improvement Fund", would be sufficient for the time being.⁴ In 1862 it decided to continue the institution for two more years, leaving the future "in the hands of Providence, deeming it one of the "things of tomorrow" which cannot be foreseen or provided for and which must

¹ P.P. 1870 Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education Vol XXII 1869-70 p.1xxxii.

² C.H. 4/1/16, 1863, p.20

³ *ibid.* pp.13-14

⁴ C.H. 4/1/15, 1862, p.14.

therefore be left in faith and prayer."¹

By that time the future level of Government grants was known because the Annual General Meeting had been postponed to 9th June 1863. In his report Bromby forecast that the maximum grant in 1864 would amount to £4,500 leaving a deficit of £1,500 after expenditure of £6,000. He proposed that the life governors should each guarantee to raise £10 towards a special fund of £2,000 to ensure the immediate future of the institution.² Instead a special meeting of life governors was arranged on September 1st. Close travelled from Carlisle to act as chairman and to strengthen the resolve of the governors to continue for as long as possible. The following resolution expressed this determination without imposing any extra liabilities on life governors:

"Regarding the interests of this institution as a solemn trust ... and considering the beneficial influence which this college has exercised on the religious education of the country for sixteen years, this meeting is convinced that nothing less than the proved impossibility of carrying on the Institution would justify either the suspension or contraction of its operations."³

After this meeting Bromby's proposal for a guarantee fund was dropped, probably because he left to become the Bishop of Tasmania. He was replaced by The Rev. R.M. Chamney in September 1863. The writers of the report for 1863 reaffirmed the executive committee's determination to continue in office whilst there remained a balance at the bank. They warned however that once this balance had been exhausted "it is not probable that any body of gentlemen will consent to do

¹ C.H. 4/1/16, 1863, p.14.

² C.H. 4/1/16, p.18.

³ C.H. 4/1/17, 1864, p.19.

so."¹ Moreover, the authors of the report calculated that "the process of exhaustion" would amount to nearly £600 per year because annual subscriptions had fallen to £200. The future of the Institution was therefore only secure until 1865 unless annual subscriptions were increased to delay this process. Although Close was determined to help the Cheltenham Training College he must have realised that it would be very difficult to ensure its survival during the next decade. As a national college it was not supported by a diocese. Because it was an Evangelical foundation it did not receive funds from the National Society, as did St Marks and Battersea.² As a provincial college it was not likely to attract as many Queen's Scholars as the metropolitan colleges. Above all it had no endowments to provide an income or to meet an emergency. These factors all made the future very insecure at the end of 1863.

¹ C.H. 4/1/17, 1864, p.20.

² C.H. 4/1/16, 1863, p.20.

The period 1864-78

Between 1859-63 the average grant from the Council office was £5,568 or 92% of the total expenditure. During the first four years under the Revised code it was £4,242 or 65%. Bromby's forecast that the reduction in grant would amount to £1,500 per year was therefore correct.¹ The average loss during the first four years was £1,326 per annum but 1864 was an exception. According to the statement which was prepared for the Annual General Meeting on 14th June 1865 the grant was £4,518, slightly more than 75% of expenditure the previous year and only £877 less than the grants which had been received in 1863. From then on grants from the Council office only reached this maximum of 75% on two occasions. These were in 1870 and 1872. Usually they were considerably less than 75%. In 1867 the grant was nearly £500 less than 75% of expenditure the previous year and it was £448 less in 1877. The cuts were therefore permanent and deep.

The block graph shows that even so the Parliamentary grant remained the main source of finance. However each year approximately 30% of expenditure had to be met from students' fees, annual subscriptions and donations and any other source which could be found. In many ways this was a return to the financial situation which pertained between 1847-53 which at first glance ought not to have been so difficult. However the situation had changed. The Cheltenham Institution was large and costly to run. It had been almost entirely dependent upon public funds for nine years. In 1847 Close had calculated that annual subscriptions of £500 would be necessary. He had increased this to £1000 in 1849. Sums like this had never been forthcoming and indeed had not been necessary in recent years. Such a subscription

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C.H. 4/1/16, 1863, p.13.

list if it had been available in 1864 would have made it more likely that the Cheltenham College would survive, when many were forced to close or contract. This support was not available in 1864. Yet within three years confidence was restored. A new building for the female department was completed in 1869 and new courses were begun with increased numbers of students after 1872. This section examines the reasons for this apparent change of fortune and the measures taken by the executive committee which brought it about.

Starting in 1864 admission fees were charged to all new entrants. Queen's scholars paid £10, Pupil teachers who had failed the examination for a Queen's scholarship £15, and private students paid £25, in two instalments. The information which was sent to candidates for admission explained that the changes introduced by the Revised Code had made it necessary to make these charges, but added by way of compensation that the entrance fee "will cover all expense for board, education, washing and medical attendance for two years", furthermore "It is hoped that as the burden is thrown upon the Training College of adjusting the supply of Schoolmasters to the demand, and a consequent security is given to the Student that employment will be ready for him, upon his leaving College, the payments required will be easily obtained from friends as patrons by gift or loan, according to circumstances."¹

In 1864 admission fees amounted to £742 which made up for most of the income lost in grants. In 1865 it was £648, less than two fifths of the reduction that year. Nevertheless entrance fees continued to make a useful contribution to the annual balance throughout this period. Fees were reduced to £5 in 1866 because of the fall in the number of male students. The promise of future employment was not

¹ C.H. 10/32, "Information for candidates for admission under the Revised Code", 1862.

sufficient to attract men who were generally unwilling or unable to pay the entrance fee, unlike the women students. In that year twelve men had their fees paid for them, through a grant of £50 from the Church Education Society which was matched by the executive committee. Thereafter scholarships of £5 were given to those who had passed the entrance examination in the first class and smaller prizes were awarded to those in the second class. The supply of male students reached a crisis point at the beginning of 1869 when only eighteen, who had passed the examination and three private students, applied for admission. An appeal to Clergy and school managers requesting them to send their male Pupil Teachers to Cheltenham met with some success but during the year the male department had only 51 students when there was accommodation for 90.¹ For a while the shortage of male students threatened the future of the college but recruitment improved a great deal after the 1870 Education Act was passed. In 1871 105 men applied for 46 vacancies and 140 women for only 33. To attract superior candidates the fee for men with a first class Queen's Scholarship was then reduced to £4, those with a second class scholarship paid £6.² These fees were increased to £8 and £10 respectively in 1872. Women paid a uniform fee of £5 in 1871. Between 1871-8 the average annual income from fees was £580. This however was never enough to offset the loss of grants.

In addition to fees all entrants, apart from private students were required after 1864 to declare that they would remain at the College for two years and would then teach in schools, under inspection "until they obtain a Certificate of Merit, which may be secured after two annual inspections". They had to sign a declaration to this effect in which the reasons for this undertaking were explained. "I consider myself in

¹ CH 4/1/24, 1871, p.18.

² *ibid*, p.17.

honour bound to continue thus as a Teacher until I have obtained a Certificate ... in order that the Authorities of the College may receive a grant of public money....".

Failing this the student promised to pay £20 for each year of residence.

In 1864 the credit balance of £471 which had been accumulated under the previous system of grants was an important consideration. It was used to repay the deficit of £135 after admission fees had been collected. This real credit balance was however considerably more than that which was shown in the annual statements for both 1863 and 1864.

The report for 1864 explained that a quarterly payment from the Council Office, due on December 31st 1863 had been paid in January 1864 which amounted to £798.¹ This together with an additional balance of £556, held at the bank, presumably in the building and repairs fund meant that the total balances to the credit of the college at the close of 1863 were really £1,826. A similar payment of £489 made in January 1865 also meant that the balance at the end of 1864 was £1,358, not £312 as shown in the annual statement.²

The Cheltenham Training Institution therefore began this difficult period with a much larger sum in hand than appeared in the accounts, but only sufficient to continue for two years if the "process of exhaustion" amounted to £600 per year. The prospects of Training Colleges in general were still uncertain but another special circumstance "in the case of this college.." encouraged "an earnest prosecution of its work."³ This was the decision by the Committee of the Metropolitan College at Highbury to close because of the shortage of "candidates for admission into Male Training Colleges". Highbury had been founded by the Evangelical Church of

¹ C.H. 4/1/18, 1865, pp.18-19

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*, p.15.

England Training Schools Association in 1850 and was conducted on the same principles. The report for 1864 explained that "it was felt on both sides that the friends of education on these principles ought to rally their strength in order to maintain at least one College ..." but the author gave no reasons to explain why the decision was made to close Highbury rather than Cheltenham. Close certainly would have been in favour of this choice but there is no evidence that he influenced either of the committees. Cheltenham however was the most obvious choice for survival. It had been founded before Highbury and had already established a reputation for successful work. It was larger than the College in London and trained both men and women. Also the resolution which was passed at the emergency meeting on 1st September 1863, at which Close acted as Chairman, show that there was a determination to preserve the College at Cheltenham which was not so evident amongst supporters of the College in London

Twenty seven students were transferred from Highbury to Cheltenham and John Martin the secretary to the Metropolitan college persuaded many of its subscribers to transfer their subscriptions to Cheltenham. These amounted to £129 in 1864 and in 1865 subscriptions and donations nearly doubled to £412. A full time collector was appointed and paid commission after 1865.

The sale of the land and buildings at Highbury in 1865 provided Cheltenham with an endowment of £14,050. Of this £9,614 was invested in Government securities in the names of the Charity Commissioners. These produced an average dividend of £311 annually between 1867-78, which was used for current expenditure. A further £2,886 was invested in Consols which accumulated interest. This was set aside to help finance the building of a new department for female students within the next ten years. Failing this the money would revert to the Council office. £1,550 was also invested in the names of trustees and kept for this building and in particular for the

furniture which would be needed.¹ The interest from this fund however was devoted to general running costs but is not listed separately from the dividend received from government securities in the annual accounts between 1865-1869. The endowment fund, combined with the subscriptions which were transferred from Highbury probably helped to ensure that the Training Institution survived more than any other factor. Whilst the dividends from these investments provided a useful sum they were not sufficient to make up for the loss of revenue from grants. However the receipt of the first dividend combined with the knowledge that there was a large capital sum available in reserve, gave the executive committee new confidence. After years of uncertainty the report for 1866 announced that

"The Balance Sheet proves at first glance, that at the close of 1866 the financial crisis had passed away, leaving the finances of the College in a manifestly sound condition".

The factors mentioned in the report, which had contributed to this healthy state of affairs included extensive repairs which had been paid for by a government grant, a dividend of £208 from the Highbury estate and increased subscriptions amounting to nearly £500². From then on the committee began to make long term plans for the future even though the reduction in public funding was a serious constraint.

Foremost amongst these plans was the building of a college for the female department. This was long overdue and was now possible because of the Highbury endowment. In 1867 a site was purchased for £2,350. After an open competition a design was selected and approved by the Committee of the Council on Education and

¹ CH 4/1/19, 1866, pp.13-14.

² CH 4/1/20, 1867, pp.14-15.

a builder contracted to complete the work for £4,304. Other costs including furniture were estimated to be £491. The total cost was £7,145. This was paid for by withdrawing £3,309 which represented the original building grant which had been made to the Metropolitan College at Highbury. The College committee also withdrew £1,550 invested in Consols for this building and the balance of £2,286 was withdrawn from the endowment fund.¹ The new building, named "Shaftesbury Hall" was completed and occupied in 1869, the year when the recruitment of male students reached its lowest point. There had never been a shortage of female students but the "Education Department", as the Council Office was now called, restricted the number who could be accommodated to 59 until 1871.

The decision to build the new college for women, during this period of maximum financial constraint was remarkable, even though sufficient funds were available. It shows how determined the executive committee and governing body were to continue training teachers in accordance with the original principles laid down by Close and his friends in 1845. Three years later in 1872 an offer of help from the S.P.C.K. encouraged the committee to plan additional accommodation for 21 women at a cost of £2,000. This proposition was not accepted by the S.P.C.K. on the grounds that the increased demand for teachers might not be permanent and "because they feared that the position of Church Training Colleges in relation to State Aid was not such as to encourage donations towards permanent buildings, the use of which must involve permanently increased annual expenditure."²

The committee then reluctantly abandoned the hope of enlarging the building, though their readiness to do so and to launch a new appeal is in sharp contrast with

¹ C.H. 4/1/21, 1868, pp.15-19.

² C.H. 4/1/26, 1873, p.21.

the cautious attitude of the S.P.C.K. One extra student was accommodated at Shaftesbury Hall and twenty in a rented house in Royal Well. For these the S.P.C.K. paid £15 per student or a total of £165 in 1873 and 1874.¹ This initiative was one of several which sought to offset those clauses in the 1870 Education Act which aimed for religious compromise by restricting denominational teaching of religious knowledge. The annual report for 1869 opened with a statement opposing these measures. It reminded friends that the Institution "was founded on distinctly Protestant, Scriptural and Evangelical principles and that it is the only Church of England Training College except one for females, which is pledged by its constitution and trust deed to maintain those principles in perpetuity".²

This report also included an appeal for substantial funds amounting to £550 to pay off the deficiency of the current year and an additional £500 in subscriptions for future maintenance. The uncompromising attitude of this report which reaffirmed the principles on which Close had founded the college must have appealed to Evangelicals at that time, when the religious question was at its height, and they responded with generosity. Donations and subscriptions rose from £377 in 1868 to £794 in 1869 and to £1,103 in 1870. They continued to total more than £500 a year until 1876. Even so financial difficulties continued with an annual deficit of about £300 per year.³ The report for 1873 blamed this on the increased cost of maintenance, the increased number of students and the loss of annual subscribers, through death and other causes. It claimed that the average cost of maintenance for a year for each male student was fifty pounds six shillings and for each female thirty

¹ C.H. 4/1/25, 1873. p.21

² C.H. 4/1/22, 1870 P.13

³ C.H. 4/1/26, 1874, p.16

two pounds three shillings.¹

Most of the deficit in 1872 was therefore due to the male department where maintenance costs were higher and numbers increased from 51 in 1869 to 90 in 1873.² In that year and 1874 however the female department took in 21 students from the S.P.C.K. for fees which were £17 less than its average maintenance costs. In spite of this however the balance owing from that department at the end of the year was only £117 compared with £459 from the male department. Collections in Churches following a suggestion by Close raised £136 in 1870 and £42 in 1875-6. The Science and Art Department began making grants to pay staff and for equipment in 1872. These rose from £24, in the first year to £244 in 1878. The sale of books to students raised more than £100 per annum after 1872. The sale of dripping to both male and female students also produced an income which rose from £15 in 1868 to £46 in 1878!

Candidates who applied to take the examination for a Queen's Scholarship were charged an examination fee after 1873. This raised an average of £68 in the first five years. After 1875 all students were entered for the Archbishop's examination in Religious Knowledge. Those who passed earned a small grant which varied from £1 to £3 for the college. These totalled more than £200 each year. In 1878 every student passed the exam and the grant amounted to £230.15 shillings.³

In spite of all this the debts continued. The balance due to the bank from the male department was £317 in 1877 and £237 in 1878 from the female department it was £66 and £196 respectively. The annual report for 1878 drew attention to the fall in subscriptions "from the city of Bristol, from Clifton, and from Bath, only £7.7s. have

¹ *ibid.*

² C.H. 4/1/24, 1873, p.19.

³ C.H. 4/1/30, 1879. p.13

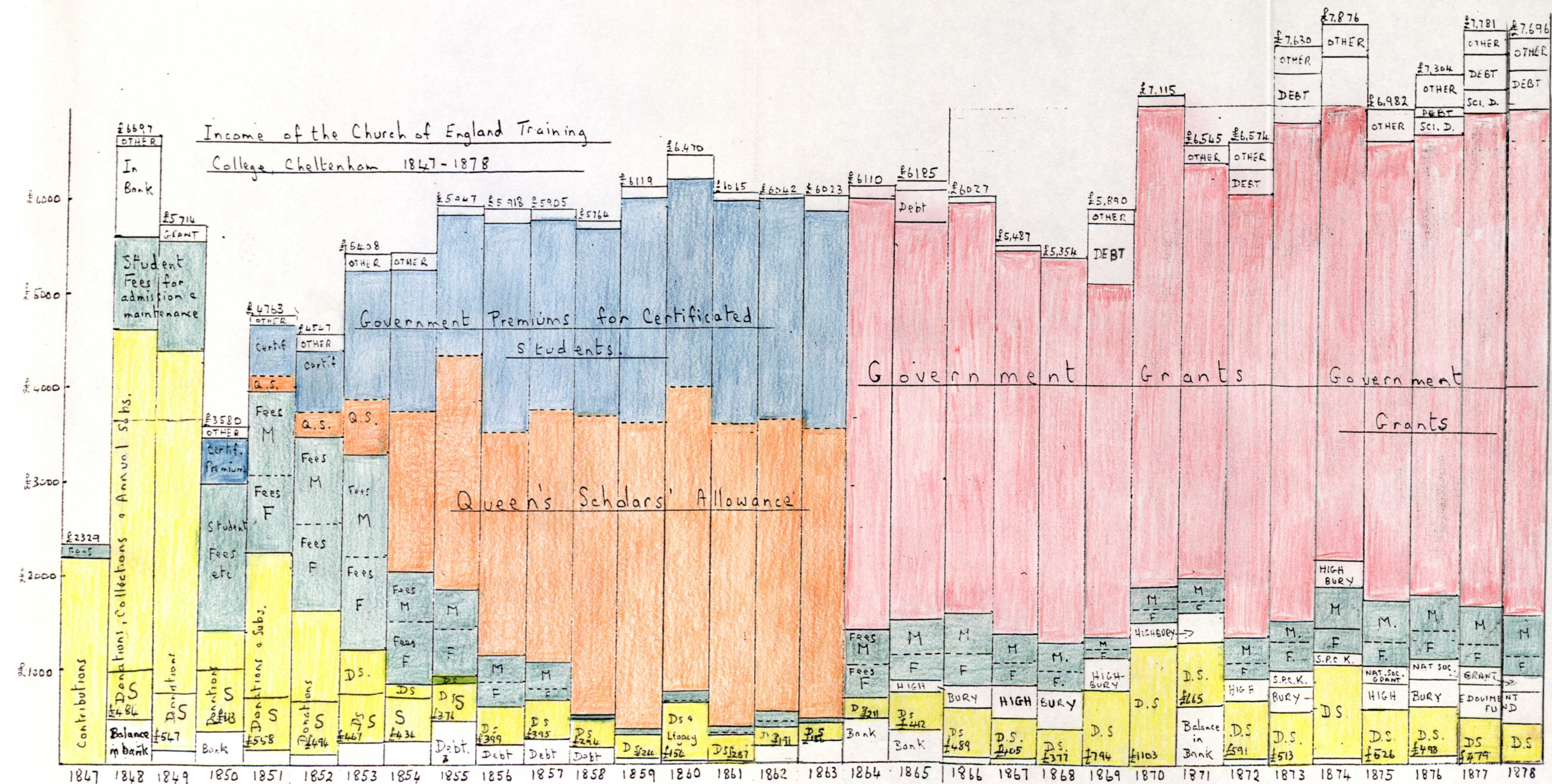
been received, and from Gloucester no subscription whatever. The Committee would gladly and thankfully hail the assistance of the friends of Evangelical truth in these important neighbouring centres, and welcome any suggestion for awakening the now dormant interest in these places."¹

It concluded on an optimistic note but with one familiar reservation "The Committee have every reason to believe that the perusal of the facts, *with the one exception of the deficiency in the funds* will be a source of satisfaction to every one of their friends."²

¹ C.H. 4/1/30, p.182-191.

² *ibid.* p.14.

Income of the Church of England Training College, Cheltenham 1847-1878



DS - Donations & subscriptions

F - Female } Fees.
M - Male }



3. Francis Close, effective founder of the College.



4. Charles Bromby, first Principal of the College.



5. Robert Chamney, Principal (1864–94).



6. Isabella Reynolds, Governess (1849–66) and Lady Superintendent (1866–86).

PART EIGHT**THE COLLEGE STAFF**

The Two Principals: C.H. Bromby 1847 - 64, R. Chamney 1864 - 94.

Charles Henry Bromby (1814-1907) was born in Hull and educated at Uppingham School and St. John's College, Cambridge graduating with a 3rd Class degree in 1839. He was ordained in 1839 when he was curate at Chesterfield for a short time. From 1839-43 he was the curate of Trinity Church, London, where he was also the principal of Stepney Proprietary School. In 1843 he was appointed as the curate in charge of St. Paul's Church, Cheltenham - under the supervision of Close until St. Paul's became a separate church district in 1846. Bromby's association with Close, his appointment as Principal and the extent to which he became responsible for the administration of both the male and female departments has been discussed.¹ He was unpaid for the first six months and received only half of his salary for two years from October 1847 to November 1849. He continued as vicar of St Paul's Church for sixteen years but gave up his income from the living in 1850 in return for a salary of £500.² In June 1853 however he asked the executive committee to rescind this decision because he had found that after paying the expenses of the church and "for a second curate to do his work there was a surplus". The committee decided that he could have this surplus "for after all he was the incumbent".³

Bromby married into the Bodley family. His brother-in-law G.F.Bodley was commissioned to design the Model School in 1852 soon after he qualified as an architect. Thomas Bodley who was the first Vice Principal from 1850-52 was almost

¹ See pp. 193-204.

² 2/1/1 Vol.I. p.88

³ ibid, p.126

certainly another brother-in-law.¹ Bromby soon attracted an able staff. William Knighton whom he appointed in 1850 had previously been superintendent of a Normal School in India. He had been trained by David Stowe in Glasgow. So also had John Sutcliffe who stayed much longer than Knighton who left in 1851. Sutcliffe was master of method until 1851 and remained on the staff as an assistant lecturer until 1865. John Gill whom Bromby appointed as a lecturer in 1851 had also been trained by Stowe. He became an outstanding Master of Method from 1852-88. Miss Hutchinson who was appointed to the female department at that time remained on the staff as 2nd Governess until 1861. Mr Green an ex-student who was appointed master of the middle school in 1851 was soon lost to the college. In 1852 he was appointed on Bromby's recommendation, to become master of a school for the children of British Soldiers in Bombay at a salary of £300, with a promise of ordination.² Isabella Reynolds however remained on the staff for 37 years. She was appointed as a Governess in 1849 and became the head Governess in 1853 serving under Mrs Hobart who was Superintendent of the Female Department. In 1855 Bromby referred to Miss Reynolds as "the life of this department"³ She became the lady Superintendent in 1866 and remained in charge of that department until 1886 when she married the Principal, Robert Chamney.

It is not easy to sum up the role of the principals of the training institutions which were established during the 1840s. Collins, J. argues that some of these roles were manifest or clear, others, which were probably considered more important, were latent or implied. By 1859 Bromby was carrying out most of the manifest roles which are listed by Collins, "the principal must be administrator and accountant, teacher

¹ More, C. 1992, op.cit., p.9.

² 2/1/1 Vol. I. Mon 10th 1852

³ C.H. 4/1/8, 1856, p.15

and assessor, and moral leader of a relatively enclosed community. He or she must execute decisions taken by the management committee, and carry out the directions of the Committee of Council or Education Department, maintaining contacts and correspondence with both bodies."¹

Collins argues that although they were working within the limitations set by some of these outside agencies the principals had considerable freedom to exercise their own initiatives in the relatively closed community for which they were responsible. The extent to which they took advantage of these opportunities to create the kind of moral and academic community which was close to their ideal "is to be explained partly by institutional, partly by individual factors."²

At Cheltenham the ideal shared by Bromby and the founders was to create a Training College which would make "Godly schoolmasters and mistresses that they may become spiritual instructors and blessings whenever they go."³ Bromby was helped by several institutional factors. These include the clear statement of aims in the Foundation Trust Deed or Principle,⁴ the support of an active committee, led by Close and the general situation which Close had brought about by developing Cheltenham as an Evangelical stronghold and centre of education. Bromby's residence within the college was also an important institutional factor. At Cheltenham a considerable part of the initial cost of the men's department was spent on houses for the Principal and Vice Principal whereas at Battersea only the

¹ Collins, J., *The Training of Elementary Schoolteachers in England and Wales 1840-90*, Ph.D. study, Bulmersh, CNAA, 1985, p.69.

² *ibid.*

³ A memorial of the Jubilee Commemoration of Cheltenham Church of England Training College (June 4th & 5th 1897), Sawyer & Co, p.11.

⁴ See p.105.

Principal was resident and only the Vice Principal at Durham¹ The Lady Superintendent and two Governesses were also resident during term time at Cheltenham.

Even though he had these advantages much of the success which was achieved during the first years of the institution was due to Bromby himself. His initiatives with regard to rules and professional training have been discussed but his commitment and dynamism were major factors. When Moseley warned the committee that their Principal was "doing too much for his strength" he pointed out that "the nature of his labours is intensely stimulating to a man who has his heart in it" and added that his lectures alone were very exhausting.² At that time there were 50 male and 52 female students in the first year and 33 male and 36 females who may have stayed on from the intake of 1851.³ These figures are the maximum possible and it is very doubtful whether the number of students was as high though in 1859 Bromby did claim that he was in charge of 160 young persons.⁴ To assist him he had twelve members of staff, six in each department. In crude terms this was a staff student ratio of 13.1:1 which would be considered quite reasonable today. However four of these members of staff, Mr. Gill, Mr. Percival, Miss Percival and Miss Campbell were in charge of Practising or Model Schools containing quite large numbers of children who were taught by students for only part of the time. If they are not included the ratio was 19:1 overall or 16.6:1 at the male and 22:1 at the female departments. However the male lecturers taught at both.

¹ Report of the Committee of Council 1850-1, Vol.1, Special Report by H.M.I. Moseley, p.35.

² 2/1/6, November 1852

³ See tables 1, 9 and 16 Part 9.

⁴ C.H. 4/1/11, 1860, pp.18-19

In his report for 1851 Close mentions the stress which must have arisen from the strong sense of mission which his foundation inspired and the demands which the students must have made because of their low attainments on entry.

"Our first Governess¹ retired exhausted from her labours and soon afterwards died. Our Vice Principal has just resigned from ill health. The untiring energies of the Principal have been most severely taxed, in short it is evident that nothing but the extraordinary spirit of work infused through the whole mass of Teacher and Taught could under God's blessing have attained such success under such conditions".²

Although he had been headmaster of Stepney Grammar School Bromby recognised his own lack of experience as far as the training of elementary teachers was concerned and resolved to learn the necessary skills as quickly as possible. In 1851 H.M.I. Cook observed one of his model lessons and the following year H.M.I. Moseley reported that the work was "decidedly advanced and very great progress has been made".³

Bromby explained his priorities in 1852:

"I am far from undervaluing general and extensive knowledge if solid and real, but I attach an infinitely higher value to professional skill."⁴ This was also Close's view. To disseminate these skills he began to publish a monthly journal entitled "Papers for the Schoolmaster" which described the system of training at Cheltenham. By 1851 Bromby claimed that it had already reached a circulation of over 2000 a

¹ 4/1/6, 1852,p.31.

² Miss Clara Bedford, the first Governess of Monson Villa 1847-9 and mistress of the girls practising school, 1848. See also p.136.

³ 2/1/1, p.123

⁴ *ibid*, p.161

month.¹ He and John Gill regularly contributed articles to this publication, including articles on Education, lesson notes and criticisms of lessons which had been sent in by readers. In October 1870 a group of former students led by Thomas E. Heller took over this journal which later became "The Schoolmaster".²

Bromby also encouraged teachers to form professional unions. In the Annual Report for 1858 he wrote that he had given a lecture on religious training to the United Association of Schoolmasters at their annual meeting in London and that he had been pleased by the deep and earnest religious tone which he had observed, and particularly by an eloquent appeal which had been made by an old student.³ Thomas Heller who trained at Cheltenham and became master of the boys Model School in 1858 and also music master in 1860, became the first full time paid secretary of the National Union of Elementary Teachers from 1872-91. He was greatly influenced by Bromby who launched a vigorous campaign against the Revised Code in 1862. His support for the professional status of teachers was clearly expressed when he addressed the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association as "men of thoughtfulness and high purpose and holy faith."⁴ In this speech which was part of his campaign against the Revised Code Bromby revealed himself as an educational liberal who believed in "mental activity, cheerful looks, bright attention and other results of moral discipline" and condemned corporal punishment and mechanical pedagogy.⁵

After years of hard work Bromby felt that he had been betrayed by Robert

¹ C.H. 4/1/4, 1852, p.25.

² Papers for the Schoolmaster, 1871, pp.383-385.

³ C.H. 4/1/10, 1859, p.21.

⁴ Quoted in Tropp, A., 1957 *The School Teachers*, pp.58 & 93.

⁵ More, C. op.cit. p.31.

Lowe and the Newcastle Commission. This is evident in the letter which he wrote to the Lord President of the Privy Council in September 1861. He regrets that the question of education for the poor has passed out of the hands of practical educationists "...into those of mere officials and theorists". Practical men knew that the attainments of poor children at the basic subjects would not be very high, because of their casual attendance and home background but these were improving as rapidly as could be expected. Now however practical men were alarmed. The theorist had made his calculations and demanded more, "of those very results which they had been for years labouring to produce, whilst he offered no suggestion to assist them through their difficulty, and cut short the means with which they had been hitherto struggling against it. Verily, they have found another Pharaoh, who says to them, "There shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks".¹

At this point Bromby refers to the aims of the Institution which go beyond mere tests of knowledge. Many "lambs" have been saved from sin whom the Good Shepherd has gathered into his arms and "now feed forever in the pastures of Paradise."

"But yet, if challenged for results, such as may be measured and paid for in earthly coinage, your Committee feel assured that never was better investment made in England since swamps were first drained and wastes first tilled. None feel more painfully the sins and failings of the nation, or see more clearly the yet dark neglected masses than your Committee. Yet they fear not to assert that it is due in no small measure to the progress of education, that the riot no longer ravages our streets, and that a united and loyal people gathers with intelligent affection round a

¹ Bromby C.H. A letter entitled The Revised Education Code, addressed to The Right Honourable Earl Granville K.G. Lord President of the Privy Council 2/9/1861 Simpkin, Marshall & Co, p.16.

well-loved Queen, dearer in her affliction now than in the brightest hour of her prosperity.

Yes, if England asks for results, she has had them, cent per cent, ten times over, for every shilling she has invested for the training of her poor ignorant little ones."¹

This assertion that the system of grants to Training Colleges between 1846-63 had provided value for money was based on Bromby's own experience. As the principal of the largest of these colleges, one which had no endowments and which derived more than 90% of its income from Certificate Premiums and Queen's Scholars allowances, he was more aware of their importance than anyone. For years he had calculated the income which would be derived from success in the annual examinations and had published these figures in his annual reports. Moreover he also had evidence that the pupil teacher and Queen's Scholarship system had produced "the best type of teacher yet seen". Soon after his appointment he had instituted a system of evaluation by asking the managers of schools to report on teachers who had been trained at Cheltenham. Extracts from these letters were printed in the annual reports.

Bromby's predictions of the effect which the Revised Code was likely to have on the supply of Queen's Scholars and the finances of his Institution were remarkably accurate because of his experience. This and the "untiring energy" which he had devoted to his task accounts for the depth of feeling expressed in the above quotations and may explain his decision to seek preferment in the Church. In his letter to the committee in which he warned them that he might retire as principal he mentioned "the uncertainty hanging over the institution" together with "personal

¹ *ibid.*

reasons."¹ The annual deficiency of £1,500 which he forecast in 1863 may have seemed an insuperable obstacle to the survival of teacher training in Cheltenham. Whether he would have accepted the preferment which Lord Palmerston offered, if he had known about the closure of Highbury is an interesting question. Removal to an island on the other side of the world seems to have been a poor reward for years of service to education, especially as Tasmania was in the grip of a long economic depression. After his vigorous campaign against the new code Palmerston may have decided to exile a turbulent priest but perhaps Bromby's own missionary spirit, which had sent many students abroad, was undimmed.

Robert Chamney was born in 1821 and educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge (1841-44). He was ordained in 1845 and worked as a curate and headmaster of a private school until his appointment as principal of the Cheltenham institution in 1864 at the age of 43. During his early life he "had to battle with poverty to strive for his own education and then to take charge of the upbringing of the rest of the family."²

This background may have reconciled him to the financial crisis which he found when he was appointed as principal. In 1865 the two year rule under which "Colleges will receive no public aid whatever except in respect of Students trained for two years, and who obtain their certificates after being favourably reported on for two successive years in the same School" was about to be implemented.³

There was also a shortage of male students. Chamney reported that only 69 were resident, 33 in the second year and 36 in the first year. This shortage reached a crisis in 1869. Throughout this period the committee expressed confidence in

¹ See p. 204.

² C.H. 35/1/1 quoted in More, C., *op.cit.* p.31.

³ C.H. 4/1/19, 1866, p.16

Chamney's management in the annual reports mentioning in particular "the fidelity with which its fundamental and distinctive principles are maintained by him."¹ "his wise and able government"² "the influential tone of (his) character and work in all departments of his office" and the care which he bestowed on religious teaching.³

Gilbert A. Christian, who was a student at the college (1874-5) confirms that Chamney was highly respected for his moral influence, describing him as "a most wise and successful ruler. His defect" however "was his lack of initiative and excessive caution".⁴ Study of the minute book for the first 14 years of his principalship up to 1878 suggests that Chamney co-operated closely with the executive committee and his staff but this does not mean that he failed to have an influence on the more important decisions which were made. His initiatives with regard to augmentation grants and student fees have already been noted.⁵ The decision to build Shaftesbury Hall which was made in 1866, soon after the Highbury endowment became available, was the most important decision during those years and may have been Chamney's greatest achievement. Soon afterwards an attempt was made to enlarge this department to accommodate S.P.C.K. students which was far from cautious, since if it had been implemented it would have involved building costs of £2,000. As soon as the proposals of the 1870 Education Act were known the committee approved a series of measures to counteract what it saw as a threat to the status of Religious Education. In 1872 Chamney and Miss Reynolds co-operated in drawing up a paper entitled "The Purpose of Scripture Teaching" which was given to every student when

¹ *ibid*, p.14.

² C.H. 4/1/23 1870, p.15.

³ C.H. 4/1/28, 1876, p.13

⁴ Christian, G.A. *English Education from Within*. Wallace Gandy, London, 1922, p.6.

⁵ See p.206.

leaving. It was printed in full in the annual reports for 1872 and 1873 and included four sections; objectives, rules for preparation, methods and discipline. Concerning objectives or purposes, they explained "This is not so much to give children a knowledge of the Bible as to give them that knowledge of God Himself as there revealed to us, which may, by the power of His Spirit, save their souls, mould their thoughts and feelings, and control their whole life. In pursuing this one object you must aim at the following things."

It then listed six aims including knowledge of God, feelings about Him, a sense of duty, consciousness of sin the need for prayer and to bring "the children into real personal contact with Christ as their Redeemer and Friend" and concluded "Remember that a lesson which is not framed and fitted to secure one or more of these results is utterly valueless as a means of moral or spiritual training."¹

A compulsory examination and certificate in Religious Knowledge was drawn up in 1871 which was replaced by the Archbishop's examination in this subject in 1875. All students were required to take this examination which qualified for a grant from The National Society. This was in itself a change of policy because the Governing body had previously avoided all links with that society.

An important decision was made in 1871 which like those already mentioned could hardly have been made without Chamney's wholehearted agreement. The increased demand for teachers, following the 1870 Education Act prompted the Committee of Council on Education to issue a circular in January 1871 sanctioning the employment of students who had only completed one year of training if they had obtained the consent of their college authorities.

In response the executive committee resolved to refuse this consent except in very special circumstances. This decision was made on the grounds that it was "in the

¹ C.H. 4/1/24, 1873 pp. 16-18 and C.H. 4/1/25, 1874, pp. 13-14

interest of the Students themselves and for the credit of the College."¹ The reasons which were given were that students sent out in their first year would have a very limited amount of knowledge and they would miss practical training and moral and religious training which were particularly important during the second year. Moreover second year students set an example which contributed a great deal towards the "high moral tone, which is so marked a feature in these institutions."²

In 1872 the committee began to accept grants from the Science and Art department and to present students for examinations in science. The annual report for 1877 pointed out that study of additional subjects like science would not affect student performance at the basic subjects required under the Revised code.

"The Examinations in Science are in future to be held in December, just before the Certificate Examination; and no marks are granted to students for science or language unless they gain their certificates by a competent knowledge of the elementary subjects; and the amount of English Literature required in the second year is doubled."

It confirmed Chamney's authority by pointing out that these and other changes in the subjects for male students were all in his opinion "in the right direction"³ Science became a most important subject for male and female students during Chamney's later years as Principal.

This study has not investigated Chamney's influence beyond 1878 but it is clear that during the period 1864-78 he and the executive committee made a number of bold, rather controversial decisions. These were implemented with the help of the Governors and staff. Some of these members of staff had already been at the college

¹ C.H. 4/1/24, 1872, p.22

² *ibid.* p.23

³ C.H. 4/1/30, 1878, p.12.

for many years by 1864.

Apart from some part timers fifty staff were employed between 1847-78. The table below shows the length of their service.

Number of Years	Staff 1847 - 1878	
	Length of appointment	
	Male	Female
1 - 2	9	9
3 - 4	3	11
5 - 9	3	5
10 - 14	3	3
30+	3	1
Average	10.4	5.6

These averages are based on the actual years served not on the mean point in the age ranges. These figures do not include seven music masters who stayed for short periods.

Between 1847 - 1878 nine members of the male staff were graduates. These included both Rev. Principals, three Rev Vice Principals, one of whom stayed for only a year, two Vice Principals who were not ordained and two members of the lecturing staff.

The Vice Principals were Thomas Bodley (1850 - 52) from Queen's College, Cambridge, who left to seek ordination, Henry James (1852-71) from Trinity College, Cambridge the Rev. Stephen Childe (1872 - 73) from Corpus Christi College, Oxford,

who seems to have been a failure, the Rev. H. Martin (1873 - 78) from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford who became principal of Winchester Training College and Ebenezer Brereton (1878 - 73). Brereton was appointed as an assistant master in 1853, straight from the college. He became a government lecturer in 1859¹, took an external degree at either London University or Trinity College, Dublin and was appointed Vice Principal in 1878. When he retired he had spent 42 years at Cheltenham as a student and member of staff.

Dr William Knighton who was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin and a PhD from Leipzig had had experience at a Normal College in India before being appointed as master of the "General Normal School in 1849"² and assistant master in 1850. He also taught Geography and History. He left to become Vice Principal of Whitelands Training College in 1851.³ Mr Bromilow who was appointed assistant master in 1866 took an external degree and holy orders at London University between 1876-78.

Staff turnover was quite high until 1853, Miss Bedford, the first governess retired through illness in 1849, Mr. Bailey, the master of the boys Model School was sent by the executive committee to train under Stow in Glasgow. It granted him £50 for a years course but he did not return. He was replaced by Knighton and Sutcliffe. Knighton left after two years but Sutcliffe remained until 1865. Green who was appointed in 1852 left for India at the end of the year. However after 1853 there was no change in the six members of staff at the male department, apart from the practising schools, until 1865. These were Henry James the Vice Principal, the

¹ See p.226.

² Probably the National School which was connected with St. Paul's Church and used for teaching practice.

³ Collins, J. op.cit., p.242.

assistant masters Messrs Ross, Sutcliffe and Brereton, (Sutcliffe was also Master of Method, until 1856). Mr Knight the drawing master (1853-71) and Mr Gill who was master of the boy's Model School until 1856 when he became Master of Method.

Robert Ross, the lecturer in History published two school text books, one for junior and one for senior classes. These aimed to replace the inaccurate text books, which were full of fables with "full, accurate and compact knowledge"¹ for pupils who were preparing for public examinations. For example his account of King Alfred's stay on the Isle of Athelney concludes "During his five months residence in this retreat he was joined by many of his followers, who from time to time made excursions into the neighbouring districts Whether Alfred himself went in disguise into the camp of the Danes is very doubtful, and so is the story of the burnt cakes."² This book sold over 69,000 copies. Sutcliffe who lectured in Geography left in 1865 and was replaced by Bromilow. Ross left in the following year and was not replaced. Thereafter there were only four assistant masters until 1872 when Knight left and was not replaced which reduced the staff still further. Brereton taught maths and history and was master of music at both departments. In 1875 Mr Matthews was appointed music master to lighten his workload.

Gill the Master of Method also taught in both the male and female departments until 1870.³ His career at Cheltenham lasted 38 years for most of which he was in charge of Professional Training but his influence was much more widely disseminated through his textbooks.

John Gill (1817 - 1910) was born in the Isle of Man but was educated at

¹ Ross, R., *Outlines of English History for Junior Classes*, Simpkin, Marshall & Co, p.111. Simpkin, Marshall

² *ibid.* p.20

³ More, C. *op.cit.* p.71

Brunswick Wesleyan School, Liverpool. He began his career as a bookbinder and became well known as a Wesleyan preacher before taking charge of one of the new Wesleyan schools at Kingsley on the edge of the Delamere Forest in Cheshire in March 1845 "upwards of a years work made me desirous to know how discipline could be maintained without corporal punishment. So I made arrangements to attend the Free Church Normal Seminary at Glasgow."¹ This was Jordanhill College run by David Stow. He trained there between April and November 1846.² In 1847 he opened a new school at Tunstall in Staffordshire and whilst there passed the Certificate Examination, which had been established by the Committee of Council on Education the previous year. In 1850 he was recommended by H.M.I. Fletcher to take charge of a school in London. In June 1851 the same H.M.I. recommended him to "Bromby and he was appointed to the college in August of that year".³ His experience as a teacher amounted to four and a half years. For three years he was in charge of the Model School at the male department where part of his work was to give demonstration lessons to students. In November 1852 the visiting H.M.I. Moseley commented after observing Gill that very great progress had been made. He gave a verbal report to Close and ten other members of the committee, one of whom made these pencilled notes in the rough minute book.

"The teaching side is now in the most efficient hands. There is no other institution where so much (emphasis is given to professional training). Gill is an extraordinary man, a great educator. Not a single child (was) dreaming. (He has the art) of keeping every child industrious and getting out of each child as much as possible... he would be ashamed to mention (any) fault in a man so earnest". H.M.I.

¹ C.H. 29/1/14. An undated letter from Gill to Chamney

² His name is 47th on the Jordanhill admission register. Collins, J. op.cit. p.99

³ *ibid.*

Bellairs added that he has "the greatest confidence in the men and women sent forth from here (they are) high toned in teaching power and are doing their work well. (Gill makes) pupil teachers into teachers."¹

Five months later Bellairs reported to Close and eight members of the committee on his inspection of the three practising schools for boys, girls and infants. He criticised the buildings and the deficiency of apparatus but praised the teachers remarking that of the three schools "that for the boys was in the best condition in consequence of the unwearied diligence and powers of Mr. Gill".²

In 1856 Gill became Master of Method and responsible for professional education. At that time there were three practising schools and the Model School which had been built the previous year. Mr Dodge was in charge of the boys' school which was the St. Paul's National School. This had been purchased by the committee in 1852. Mr Wheeler was in charge of the Model School, Miss Thomson was in charge of the girls' practising school, which was the Parish School of Cheltenham and Miss Peat was head of the girls initiatory or infant school. Staff turnover in these schools was quite rapid at that time. Mr Wheeler and Miss Thomson who had been at the college for two years left in 1857 to be replaced by Mr Heller who stayed for three years and Miss Peat who stayed for six. After 1857 there was more stability. Mr Smith who succeeded Mr Dodge at the boys' school remained in charge for six years but was also appointed as an assistant Master of Method in 1861. Mr Ensor, a student of the college replaced Smith at the practising school in 1864 and remained there for 12 years. In the female department several members of staff left to get married but Miss Dyer was in charge of the girls' practising school for eight years and

¹ C.H. 2/1/6 Almost certainly November 1852. In this quotation the words in brackets have been assumed because of illegibility.

² *ibid.* April 14th 1853

Miss Cadogan was head of the infant school for more than ten years after 1869.

Moseley's high opinion of Gill's teaching extended to the numerous articles which he had written for Bromby's monthly publication "Papers of the Schoolmaster". He suggested that these should be published as a textbook saying "Mr Gill there is no textbook on your subject, you must make your own."¹ This textbook entitled "An Introductory Text Book to School Education, Method and Management" was published in 1857 and reprinted in expanded forms in 1858 and 1883. It sold more than 50,000 copies and was translated into Hindustani by Mr Handford, an ex student who became Director of Public Instruction in Oude, into Armenian by Mr Johannes another ex-student who was superintendent of Missions under the C.M.S. into French by Madame Brelet as a candidate for admission into the French Academy and into Japanese by Mr. W. Wak who was principal of Tokyo Normal College.² Gill claimed that it circulated largely in the Colonies & United States as well as in Britain. A book review of the revised edition in 1883 began by claiming that "Gills School Management" has become a household word among teachers and educationists and continued ... "the principles, aims and instruments of primary education are set forth by an educationist who has always stood in the front rank It would be scarcely possible to over-estimate the influence which Mr. Gill has had upon education at home and abroad."³

In 1872 Gill published a second text book "The Art of Teaching Young Minds to Observe and Think". This included Gill's views on teacher training and numerous lesson plans for object lessons. His obituary in "The Schoolmaster" claimed that the

¹ C.H. 29/1/14 A letter from E.L. Gill, John's Gill's son to the Principal Beck on 18th December 1926.

² C.H. 29/1/14, A letter from Gill to Chamney op.cit.

³ C.H. 29/1/14, June 2nd 1883. The title of the publication is not known.

contents of his books formed the substratum of most modern treatises on Method. It also contained this tribute: "No nobler, no more inspiring, no more stimulating influence was ever exercised in any abode of education than John Gill exercised at Cheltenham."¹

His educational philosophy and syllabus of professional training will be discussed in a separate section in part 10.

The Lady Superintendent & Governesses

The lady superintendent was first assistant to the principal in charge of the female department. Her role was important and combined "responsibility for religious and moral leadership, discipline, domestic management and administration (including sick-nursing), the employment and organisation of the teaching staff and the distribution of their and the students' time, and often also giving instruction in a variety of subjects".²

Miss Bedford, the first governess was appointed in June 1847 "to be in charge of the young women's moral, educational and personal welfare at Monson Villa", which indicates that her job was really that of superintendent albeit in a new department with few students. Soon afterwards the committee made a careful attempt to separate responsibility for educational and moral welfare from domestic management, possibly because Miss Bedford was ill. The minutes noted that "Some doubts having arisen as to the division of responsibility with respect to the establishment at Monson Villa, it is the opinion of the Committee, that the whole charge of the Young Women (subject to the control of the Revd. Principal) Moral, Educational and personal rests with Miss Bedford, who must be considered as head

¹ The Schoolmaster, March 19th, 1910

² Collins, J. op.cit., p.71.

of that department, Mrs. Bailey's duties being limited to the management of the House".¹ Miss Bedford was also mistress of the girls' practising school but retired through illness in 1849. Her place was taken by Mr Waterworth who had been the headmaster of Holy Trinity School, where many teachers had been trained, before being appointed Training Master at the new college in 1847. His wife was appointed matron at the same time, which helped to make his unusual post as superintendent of a female establishment more respectable.² Between 1853 and 1878 there were four lady superintendents, Mrs Hobart (1853-59), the only one who was married, Miss Milford (1859), Miss Dobson (1860-66) and Miss Reynolds (1866-86). Very little is known about the female members of staff generally because the staff register for this department doesn't begin until 1900.³ Miss Reynolds' career has already been discussed. Appointed as a governess in 1850 she was commended by the Inspector in 1854 as "one of the most talented women connected with education in this country".⁴ She founded a Prayer Union at St. Mary's in 1875 and wrote a Book of Farewell and Guidance for leavers.⁵ When she left in 1886 the executive committee gave her £50 "in recognition of the valuable services rendered to the college during thirty six years ... her pastoral care, womanly humility ... untiring energy and great Christian influence".⁶

Normally the staff at St. Mary's Hall consisted of the superintendent and a first and second governess. Miss Lignum who came from The Home and Colonial

¹ *ibid.* p.72

² Platts, A and Hainton G.H. *op.cit.* p.70

³ C.H. 10/2/1 and 10/2/2, Staff registers

⁴ More, C., 1992, p.68

⁵ *ibid.* p.144

⁶ C.H. 2/1/2, p.120.

College was first governess from 1851-2 being succeeded by Miss Reynolds who held this post with Miss Hutchins as second governess until 1866. Salaries for female staff were much lower than those for males. In 1866 the lady superintendent was paid £120 per year plus a house compared with the Vice Principal who received £300 plus a house. The first governess received £70 plus board and lodging whereas the superintendent master's salary was £225 plus a house. The second governess was paid £65 plus board and lodging.¹ In 1859 Miss Hutchins passed an examination in her special subject and qualified as a government lecturer. This made her eligible for an augmentation grant of £100 in addition to her salary² but it is not known whether she received this. If so her salary would have been in excess of that of her superiors on the staff. She left when Miss Reynolds became superintendent in 1866 and was replaced by Miss Cooper who remained on the staff until after 1878. At least two old students became governesses. These were Miss Taylor who was appointed in 1869 after having been the head governess at Ripon training school for several years³ and Miss Burnett who was appointed straight from St. Mary's in 1877.

¹ More, C. 1992, op.cit., p.61.

² C.H. 4/1/12, 1860, p.26

³ C.H. 4/1/23, 1870, p.18

PART NINE**The Composition of the Student body.****The Terms of Admission and the entrants.**

The terms of admission to the training institution were published in the first and subsequent annual reports, following an explicit statement of the aims and objectives which were "to instruct pious persons as masters and mistresses upon Scriptural, Evangelical and Protestant principles in accordance with the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England." ¹ Candidates were required to complete a form respecting their character and qualifications. They were expected to be able to read and spell correctly, to write a plain and legible hand, to understand the elementary rules of Arithmetic, to possess a general knowledge of the Old and New Testaments and to know the Catechism and Articles of the Church of England. No pupil was to be admitted before the age of sixteen, (though the examiners could make exceptions), nor to be recommended as a master or mistress before the age of eighteen. No one with a "bodily infirmity" which "in any way seems to disqualify for an efficient discharge of scholastic duty" would be eligible.

Successful candidates were admitted as probationers for the first three months at each quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee. Their fees had to be paid quarterly in advance.

Arrangements were also made for teachers who were already in charge of schools to be admitted for shorter periods of not less than a month and for the award of Exhibitions to pupils who were worthy of special encouragement. Students who

¹ C.H. 10/31 Student admissions "Information for Candidates for Queen's Scholarships", 1850.

C.H. 10/32 Student admissions 1862 "Information for candidates for admission under the Revised Code." Also a student's undertaking. Also C.H. 4/1/1 1848 p.50.

left before six months had elapsed were not eligible for certificates from the committee unless they had been in charge of a school before coming to the college.

Before admission a form of certificate was sent to a referee named by the candidate which was placed by the Principal before the Examining Committee. The candidate was also subjected to an examination by this committee either before¹ or immediately after admission. Both the reference and the examination were intended to ensure that those who were accepted would be likely to support Evangelical principles. The referee, who should if possible be a Clergyman, was asked to answer nine questions about the candidate "with peculiar accuracy and distinctness" and not "as a matter of course" in order that the important objects of the institution might be secured. He was asked to make the strictest enquiry into the candidate's moral and religious character and into the regularity of his attendance at Church. Three questions tried to ensure that candidates met the entrance requirements as far as skills and religious knowledge were concerned. Referees were warned that those admitted "are submitted to an examination in the subjects above specified immediately on their arrival and the Committee expect that none will be sent to the Training Schools who have not attained at least a moderate degree of proficiency."²

Six questions enquired about the character and religious life of the candidate. These did not ask the referee to state whether the application was an Evangelical or not but questions 2. "What opportunities have you possessed of forming an opinion of his Character?" and 3. "Has he been a person as far as you can judge of decided religious principles as well as moral uprightness?"³ would have provided referees who were usually members of the Evangelical wing of the Church

¹ *ibid.* p.51.

² *ibid.* p.57.

³ *ibid.* p.56

themselves, with an opportunity to comment on the applicant's religious views.

If there was any doubt the Examining Committee would have been able to investigate and ask questions at an interview. In 1862 two more items were added to the form for referees. They were asked to send a specimen of an exercise, such as a narrative written by the applicant without assistance and to ensure that he agreed to stay for two years if successful.

Unfortunately none of the referees forms of certificate have been preserved but the registers for the training school for men (1847-1949)¹ and for women (1847-1895)² include notes about their educational attainments on admission. These show that few of the students who were admitted during the first five years 1847-52 were able to meet all of the entry requirements as far as educational qualifications were concerned. During this period 14% of the men and 66.4% of the women were listed as generally deficient or defective at all subjects. The St. Paul's College register also noted that 67.4% of the men were also very weak at specific subjects, usually grammar and spelling.³

Some notes about the piety of the students were also made in the admission registers but were not sufficient for analysis. During this period Close and Bromby made numerous references to the character and religious commitment of the students in the annual reports. They were anxious to show that the religious objectives of the institution were being met. In 1850 Bromby cited the examination reports on Religious Knowledge as evidence "That the religious and spiritual welfare (of the students) had not been neglected "I refer with pleasure to that of the Rev. J. Browne, who examined, on two different occasions, in the Epistle to the Hebrews and

¹ This is called the admission register for St Paul's College, C.H.21/21.2.

² This is called the admission register for St. Mary's Hall, C.H. 21/21/3.

³ See Table 6. The Student Intake, 1847-51, p.301.

on the Gospel of St. John. The one gave an opportunity of testing the care with which the students had investigated doctrines, and the other the degree of their appreciation of spiritual truth. The Report of the Reverend Examiner was very gratifying, in which he stated his belief that candidates for ordination could seldom acquit themselves more satisfactorily than many of them."¹

Two years later Close referred to the success which the students had had in the examinations for the Teacher's Certificate which had placed Cheltenham first in rank above all the other colleges which were recognised by the Committee of the Privy Council² but pointed out that although these results were very satisfactory the great question still remained "how far have you been enabled to carry out the grand design of this Institution? Has the piety of your Students kept pace with their general advancement? Have the religious and moral qualifications of those whom you have admitted into the College, or located in Schools, proved as satisfactory as their advance in their professional training?"³

He pointed out that this enquiry was of particular importance at the beginning of 1852 because the character of the student intake was about to change with the influx of large numbers of pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars. This class of students was essentially different from that whence the earlier students had been drawn and a great deal of anxiety had been felt by many "as to the probable measure of religious principle which may be developed by these young men."⁴

Close reassured supporters by claiming that the pupil teachers or Queen's

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.3 1850. p.24.

² C.H. 4/1/1.5 1852 p.18. Professor Moseley's Report, Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education P.P. 1850-51 p.101.

³ C.H. 4/1/1.5, 1852 p.21.

⁴ *ibid.* p.22.

Scholars who had been accepted up till then had shown a "peculiarly high tone of pious feeling and character."¹

Two years later Bromby expressed some regrets that the better qualified Queen's Scholars, who by then made up 60% of the male and 53% of the female entrants,² were not so well "endowed with vital spiritual godliness, as in earlier years when the students were older men". However, in 1851 Close argued that; since there was no evidence that Queen's Scholars were less religious than the other students and bearing in mind that they were all sent to the college by pious Clergymen and Laymen; they were just as likely to be susceptible to sound religious training as those who "have been taken from miscellaneous sources."³

These considerations induced the Executive Committee to make a decision which accelerated the change in the student intake still further. The Government had issued a regulation restricting each Normal College to a quota of Queen's Scholars who, whilst they were in short supply, should not make up more than a quarter of the total number at any institution. At Cheltenham it was decided to ignore this regulation and to admit every Queen's Scholar who applied. This involved considerable financial loss because the scholarship grant of £25 or £20 was only available to the college for those who were within the quota but Close forecast that this would be made up when the students took their certificate examinations at the end of each year. The college then received grants ranging from £30-£20, depending upon the result.

The first pupil teachers, who had completed a school apprenticeship lasting three years, had entered the institution in 1850, followed by nineteen men and at

¹ *ibid.*

² See Tables 19 & 20 The Student Intake 1852-78, pp.329-330.

³ C.H. 4/1/1.5 1852, p.22.

least five women in 1851.¹ That these students started with superior attainments and were likely to earn higher Certificate grants for the college must have been immediately obvious to Close and his Executive Committee, accounting for their decision to admit forty three male and nine female Queen's Scholars in December 1851. Thus from this early date the college started to recruit students on merit. Attracting students who were good academically, so that Cheltenham became a college of the first rank was one of its greatest strengths.² Close gave this new policy his full support and does not seem to have been aware that, in the long term, it was incompatible with the distinctive religious principles of the institution. These ought to have favoured Evangelical students in the selection process. In 1852 he justified the admission of all the Queen's Scholars as a matter of consideration for the students and their sponsors. He explained that ... "43 Male Candidates and 9 Female chose this Institution ... Of these 33 Males passed in the first class, and 5 in the second; and of the Females, 1 in the first class and 4 in the second; ... of the Males only 12 could be received, leaving 26 successful candidates, who by their industry and good conduct had obtained the highest Government testimonial and the realisation of the first step towards their future prospects in life, actually deprived of all, and cast upon the world without hope or object.

The obligation of your Committee to the pious friends who had adopted the pupil-teacher-system on the faith of the admission of their successful candidates into your College, as well as a consideration for the young persons themselves, no less than the confident anticipation that these Students will gain certificates at the end of the year, has induced your Committee to admit them without charge, giving them

¹ See Tables 5 and 6 Student Intake 1847-51, pp.300-301.

² More, C. *op.cit.*, 1992, p.122.

the same advantages as Queen's Scholars."¹

By 1858 nearly ninety per cent of the male and female students were Queen's Scholars who met all of the academic standards which were required. Annual reports recorded the success which they achieved in the Certificate examinations but also discussed the extent of their spiritual development. Close and Bromby both had a vision of the ideal student and gave numerous examples in their reports. In 1850 Bromby wrote "Our great object has been, to send forth to the work of popular Education Instructors who shall recognise the Word of God as the sole standard of moral action in the school and in the world. The one has been viewed as but the contracted sphere of the other, where the same principles, tendencies, and feelings are only in degree differently developed. The school is the child's little world, and we repose the most unbounded faith in God's promise, that the diligent training in the one shall be crowned by the fruits of His blessing in the other."²

When the age at which pupil teachers could be apprenticed was raised from thirteen to sixteen years he urged referees to "be more careful to select young people of religious promise, taken from homes regulated by the fear of God."³

Such students he believed would not only teach children about religion but provide a personal example of Godly living which their pupils might follow. Raising the age of pupil teachers he believed would be welcomed by all who "share that deeply seated conviction amongst Englishmen - that the teacher's character is more important than knowledge, that religious truth should underlie every system of national education, and that the children should be brought in daily contact with those who, in the Apostle's beautiful language, have practically "put on the purple

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.5, 1852, p.23.

² C.H. 4/1/1.3 1850, p.24.

³ C.H. 4/1/1.12 1858 p.25.

breastplate of faith and love." These are the men whom the church wants, whom the country wants, and whom happily the state, is at the present demanding."¹

Throughout the period 1852-78 tension arose because this notion of the ideal student, which was held by the executive committee, principals and staff, conflicted with the recruitment policy of the college. C. More sums up the situation: "Running a quasi religious seminary was not compatible with running a competitive educational institution. The effective rulers of the college consistently chose the latter."² However the Examining Committee which controlled admissions was able to choose likely Evangelicals from the list of pupil teachers who applied for Queen's Scholarships to Cheltenham, when there were more applicants than places. In March 1852 Close and the Executive Committee tried to tighten this control by requiring all candidates for Queen's Scholarships to "come up at least three days before the Government exam. at Christmas" in order that their religious views and principles could be investigated by the Clerical examiners. At the same time the number of these examiners was increased from three to six. However this vetting process must have proved to be too difficult to implement because control of admissions was given to the Principal in 1853.³ Six years later Bromby explained his method of selection: "My plan has been to place no candidates for Queen's Scholarships upon my list, whose certificate of religious character is not satisfactory, and then to fill up the vacancies from the list of Queen's Scholars according to relative merit."⁴

Apart from a brief period following the imposition of the Revised Code (1864) when there was a shortage of male applicants, there were always more Queen's

¹ *ibid.*

² More, C. *op.cit.*, 1992, p.122.

³ 2/1/6 Meeting on March 8th 1852.

⁴ C.H. 4/1/1.13, 1859 p.20.

Scholars who wished to train at Cheltenham than places available. This was particularly the case as far as women were concerned. More female applicants applied for fewer places at St. Mary's College than men to St. Paul's. To some extent this may account for the gender difference in spiritual growth which Bromby noted in his report in 1859, "that whilst in the men's department there were many students who give no evidence yet of spiritual growth ... it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find anywhere such a body of earnest-minded and pious young women."¹

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.13, p.16.

The Analysis of the Student Intake 1847-78.

In this analysis of the student intake the statistical results are presented in two sections. In section one fifteen tables analyse the intake during the early years 1847-51 when a total of 288 students who were "taken from miscellaneous sources" studied at the Cheltenham training schools. Of these Table 8 (the dates at which students were admitted), extends to 1864. In section two six tables analyse the intake of 2244 students between 1852-78. Most of the students during this period were Queen's Scholars and although these scholarships were abolished in 1864 and not reinstated until 1871 it is possible to classify these entrants in the same way because the college set its own tests.

The following sources have been used. A rough book of admissions (1847-71) which is virtually illegible¹ the admissions books for the male department, later named St. Paul's College² and for the female department, which was called St. Mary's Hall³ and the Annual Reports 1848-79⁴. A set of student registers and pass books⁵ is also available and a register of masters in schools (1847-67). This contains lists of males numbered according to their date of registration and date of appointment to schools.⁶

In the case of some individual students information has been taken from the first minute book.

¹ C.H. 21/2.1.

² C.H. 21/21.2.

³ C.H. 21/21.3.

⁴ C.H. 4/1/1

⁵ C.H. 21/3.

⁶ C.H. 21/4.

The registers provide the following information about the students, their names, dates of registration, but not of leaving, their ages, the names of the clergymen or laymen who recommended them, places of origin and the places to which they were appointed on leaving. This information has contributed towards the main analysis of the student intake, which deals with admissions and numbers sent out to schools between 1847-1878, though, in general, (particularly after 1852 when most of the student entry consisted of pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars) the Annual Reports provide a more convenient source of lists of students for analysis than the admission registers.

In addition the admission registers also record information about the students' previous occupations, their educational attainments or deficiencies on entry and on leaving College, the length of time spent at College and notes about their musical accomplishments, general characters and piety. These notes have provided a valuable source of information about the first students, which has been used in the analysis of the initial intakes between 1847-1851. Unfortunately the practice of making notes of this kind was discontinued in the St. Paul's register in 1851 though it was continued up to 1887 in that for St. Mary's Hall. Thereafter the columns for comments of this kind were left blank, perhaps this was because other more systematic records were being kept elsewhere. These records have not been found.

In his analysis of early applications to the Borough Rd, Normal College between 1836 and 1852 G.F. Bartle sampled about four hundred letters of application from men and women and their referees. From these he drew a number of conclusions about the admissions policy of Henry Dunn and the College Committees and the student in-take. These letters provide interesting insights into the background and motivation of individual students and it is unfortunate that similar letters of application to St. Paul's College, Cheltenham have not been preserved. Bartle's

analyses however are based upon samples, taken from a large but uncatalogued collection of letters in the College archives. They are not comprehensive nor statistical and in many cases Bartle was not able to ascertain whether the applications were successful or not.¹

The annual reports of the Church of England Training Schools at Cheltenham which were published and distributed to the life governors and supporters of the institution after the Annual General Meetings, (held in January or February the following year) always included a list of students who were either in training or had been sent out to schools. These lists gave information about the students' places of residence, the names of referees and the schools to which they had been appointed on leaving College. No doubt these lists were meant to show the effectiveness of the institution in providing teachers of an Evangelical persuasion for the elementary and parochial schools.

In 1852 the report stated "Turning now to the records of the year just closed, your Committee have the satisfaction of stating that they have been enabled to send out THIRTY TWO MASTERS and THIRTY SIX MISTRESSES of schools, making SIXTY EIGHT in twelve months."²

Similar claims were made in every report.

In order to impress the reader, the list was made as long as possible particularly during the first few years. One device which was used was to include the names of students who had died or who had left through ill-health. For example Frederick Clark and Thomas Hart, who registered in 1847 and had died by the

¹ Bartle, G.F., "Early applications for admission to the Borough Rd, Normal College", History of Education Society Bulletin No.14, 1974, p.31-40, and Bartle, G.F., "Early applications by Women Candidates to the Borough Rd, Normal College", History of Education Society Bulletin No.18, 1976, pp.35-41.

² C.H. 4/1/1 1852 p.21.

following year were included in the steadily growing lists of "Former Students who have been Received into the Training Institution at Cheltenham since 1847 and Have Since Been Appointed to the charge of Schools",¹ every year until 1860. In fact Frederick Clark was never appointed to a school and Thomas Hart died soon after taking up a teaching post at Nanty Glo. Five other students, who left because of ill-health during 1848 and 1849 were also included for the next eleven years in the same way.

Another device, which gave the impression that more students had been in training during the previous year than was actually the case, was the inclusion of the names of students who had only just been admitted to College i.e. during January and February of the New Year. Perhaps it was felt that this was permissible since the students were admitted after the quarterly meetings of the Committee and they were therefore, strictly speaking, in training at the time the report was printed. It is doubtful whether the writers of the reports deliberately intended to deceive though the need to impress potential subscribers was always important. Even so donations and subscriptions from supporters fell sharply once the College for men was finished.

The lists of students at the end of each Annual Report were not arranged in alphabetical order but according to the dates of admission, so it may have seemed logical to record the entrants in this way. For example the first annual report, dated 27th January 1848, which reports on the foundation of the College and the first six months of teacher training, lists the names of twenty-nine male and twelve female students. Of these eleven of the men had only been at College for one week on the date of the A.G.M. and six of the women were admitted on the twenty-eighth of January 1848, the day after the meeting had taken place but before the report was

¹ The first of these appeared in C.H. 4/1/1, 1848, pp. 8 & 9.

printed. The second annual report, 1849,¹ which was concerned with 1848, (the first full year of the Cheltenham Training Institution), included nine men and eight women who were not admitted until January 1849. When these new arrivals were added to the names of students admitted in 1847 an impressive cumulative total of ninety-nine (54 males and 45 females) was arrived at, though in fact only thirty men and thirty-one women were admitted in 1848. Twenty-one men and seventeen women remained at College throughout that year. This practice of including late admissions during the first quarter of the following year continued up to 1857 though the numbers were not very significant after 1853.²

Any analysis of the student intake, which is based upon the figures given in the annual reports would therefore be quite inaccurate during the first four and a half years of the College's existence, i.e. from June 1847 to December 1852. It has been possible, however, to calculate the size of the student intake and the approximate number of those resident in College throughout each year by comparing the lists in the annual reports with the names and dates of admission in the two registers. In this way an accurate record of the student intake has been calculated for the years 1847-51 and compared with the numbers of students who had been trained according to the annual reports.³

These lists have also been used to calculate the length of each student's course. During the first five years this varied from one month to three years. In many cases information about the length of training is given in the registers. Where this is not available it has been possible to calculate it by noting when students who had previously appeared as resident in college were finally listed as having been sent

¹ C.H. 4/1/1/2.

² See Table 8, p.303.

³ See Tables 1 and 2, p.298.

out to schools. For example Joseph Wilkins, no 4 on the list for 1848 was admitted on 1st June 1847 at the age of sixteen. He was appointed to a school in Manchester at the end of that year but returned to college soon afterwards and is listed as having been appointed to a school in Devon in the report of 1851. He must therefore have been a student for three years, meeting the original terms of admission. Two other students in that initial year, Charles Phillips, 22 years and John Bee, 16 years, also completed courses of two to three years.¹

It is evident that during this period 1847-50 it must have been impossible for an outsider to know how many students had been trained or were in training at the college at any particular time. The cumulative lists from 1848 to 1860 give a general impression of expansion but the haphazard arrangement of the lists, the fact that students registered and left at four dates during the year and that the length of their courses varied from three months to three years, defies all but the most careful and painstaking analysis. It is doubtful whether this was done even for the purpose of reports to the Committee of the Privy Council, certainly not by the Evangelical clergy and laymen who subscribed and gave support to the institution.

The format of the lists given in the annual reports also changed from year to year. The 1849 list is the only one which places the female students first.

In the 1848 Report they were referred to as pupils.

In the Reports of 1849 and 1850 students who were still at College were listed with those who had been appointed to schools in the order at which they had been admitted. In 1851 the list was reorganised into present and former students, male and female. This re-organisation makes analysis easier though it should be noted that of the eighty-five students on the list of those present in College that year, thirty-nine had been admitted only the month before. In this and subsequent reports students

¹ See Tables 9 and 10 p.304.

who were Exhibitioners, Queen's Scholars and holders of first, second and third class Government Certificates were also noted. No doubt these qualifications were seen as another way of impressing the reader and potential subscriber.

The exhibitions, worth £12.10s per annum were awarded by the College to students who distinguished themselves at the entrance exam and who appeared worthy of special encouragement.¹

The first and second year Certificates were awarded after the annual examination which was conducted by Her Majesty's Inspectors.

The character of the student intake changed in 1852 with the influx of large numbers of pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars. This analysis, from 1852-78 is based upon the lists of students given in the Annual Reports which have been checked against the registers. Discrepancies caused by the inclusion of some candidates who were admitted early in the New Year are no longer of any real significance and are not noted in Table 16. After 1854 most of the students were admitted at the beginning of the year and stayed for a two year course but a first day for all students was not arranged until 1865. The statistical tables show the number of entrants each year, their age, and previous occupations and status.

After 1852 the lists of students in the Annual Reports were rearranged separating those who were resident in College during the year covered by the Report from the ever-lengthening cumulative list of those who had been sent out to schools. By 1860 this list of former students had grown to include five hundred and seventy-two masters and four hundred and thirty-nine mistresses. From 1862 onwards this list of names was replaced by a much shorter list of students who had been sent out to schools the previous year preceded by a short statement of the numbers previously trained and sent out.

¹ C.H. 4/1/1 1852, p.52.

In the Report of 1874 and thereafter the lists of students are omitted and statistics of student numbers in the first and second years and those who had been sent out to schools are given in the Reports themselves. These numbers have also been checked in the admissions registers.

The First Students 1847-1848.

The notes which were made in the registers convey a subjective picture of individual students, which is lost in the statistical tables. These examples are given to show some of the information on which the more objective statistics are based. This sample includes the first eighteen male students, registered between June-October 1847 and an equal number of female students registered between July 1847-March 1848.

Five male students were admitted on 1st June.

1. The first of these, Daniel Hawksford, aged 39 was a National School Teacher with sixteen years experience from Walton on Trent, Derbyshire. He was described as very submissive and mild, a regular communicant who was good at Plain Singing but very deficient in his Knowledge of Scripture and the rule of three. He was recommended by the Rev. T. Parrot, his fee of two guineas was paid by his wife's friends and after six months training he was appointed to a school in West Bromwich.

The remaining four students who were admitted at the same time were all from Cheltenham and had been recommended by members of the Executive Committee.

2. Charles Phillips, 22 yrs., a shoemaker was very attentive and persevering, mild and good tempered, a communicant who played the flute. He paid his own fees and left after over two years having gained a third class teaching certificate to teach in Harrogate at a salary of £60 per year plus a school house.
3. James Green aged 17 years had been an assistant teacher for four years at Trinity Church School, Cheltenham where Mr. Waterworth the first Master

of Method had been headmaster. He was recommended by Captain Schreiber. He was described as very steady and persevering, he was good at Plain Singing, "fair with English and the Greek, Grammar and Fractions". He paid his own fees and left after eleven months to teach in Nanty Glo, Monmouthshire where his salary of £50 when augmented by children's pence amounted to £75 per annum.

4. Joseph Wilkins, 16 yrs., had been an assistant teacher for one year at St. Paul's School. He was recommended by Bromby and described as being very persevering but self willed. He was a communicant who could play the organ but he knew no grammar and only knew Arithmetic up to the rule of three. His fees were paid by his father. He was appointed to a school in Manchester at the end of 1847 but returned as a student in the following year. After three years he gained a second class teaching certificate and was appointed to South Molton, Devon. He later moved on to teach at a school in Colchester.
5. John William Dovey aged 16 was a gardener and a Sunday School Teacher. His Knowledge of Scripture was very deficient, he knew no grammar and only knew Arithmetic up to the rule of three. He played the organ, was a communicant and was described as good tempered but not very persevering. After thirteen months he gained a third class teacher's certificate and went to teach in Tewkesbury, later moving to Great Horton, W. Yorkshire.
6. Thomas Hart, 21 yrs, registered on 10th June. A private schoolmaster, also from Cheltenham, who was recommended by the Rev. J.E. Riddle had been a Sunday School teacher for three years at Leckhampton but was very deficient at Scripture. After six months at college he also went to Nanty-Glo but died soon afterwards.
7. Three students registered on 22nd June. They were Nathaniel Lawrence 20yrs,

a cloth manufacturer from Stonehouse, near Stroud, where he had been a Sunday School teacher for two years. He was deficient in Scripture, English Grammar and Spelling. After six months he went to a National School at

8. Wingham in Kent. John Bee and William Robertson were both schoolboys aged 16 and 17 years. John Bee came from Brockhampton, Gloucestershire. His Knowledge of Scripture and the rule of three was fair but he knew no English Grammar. After two and a half years he gained a second class teacher's certificate and taught at Cainscross near Stroud but later moved to Sheffield.
9. William Robertson came from Trinidad and returned there after thirteen months at college. He was described as very deficient in all branches of Knowledge especially Scripture and knew no English Grammar. He could however do the reduction of money, was described as kind in disposition, teachable but not persevering. He was recommended by Mrs Murrey and the Hon. Miss Pelham of Tivoli but his fees were paid by his Mother in Trinidad.
10. Also admitted on 25th June, John Leonard aged 29 was a cabinet maker and a Sunday School Teacher from Liverpool. His Scripture was fair and he could do Arithmetic up to the rule of three but he knew no English. He was described as a communicant, an Irishman with a warm temper but kind and very persevering. After thirteen months he was appointed to Bath Road National School, Cheltenham.

Eight more male students, three of whom were married, were admitted in 1847, one in July, two in September and five in October. Their ages ranged from 17 to 39 years, five came from Gloucestershire, two from the Midlands and one from Edmonton, they included three Sunday School Teachers, a National Schoolmaster from Cheltenham, a schoolboy aged 17, a jeweller, a provision merchant, a cotton

weaver, a sexton and a servant. Of these Frederick Clark, the 23 year old National Teacher from Cheltenham might have attended the Sacramental class which was inaugurated by Close in 1833. His name appears in the register which was kept by Close between 1833-1851.¹ He attended the college for fifteen months but died in January 1848 before being appointed to a school. Charles Massey, a twenty three year old Cotton Weaver and Sunday School Teacher from Manchester trained for nine months and went to teach in a National School in St. George's, Jersey, later returning to take a post in Tipton.

Six female students were admitted in 1847 between July and November.

1. The first of these Mary Wilkins 25 yrs, was a dressmaker from Cheltenham. She knew Arithmetic imperfectly to the rule of three but knew little Grammar, no Geography and no History. She was recommended by the Rev. E. Livingstone, trained for six months and became a teacher in West Ashton, Wiltshire.
2. Martha Teague aged 19 was also a dressmaker from Worcester. She was described as very imperfect at all subjects. It is not known how long she remained at college but she obtained a post in Hatfield.
3. Elizabeth Hutchinson, aged 21, a nursery governess from Yoxall, Staffordshire knew Arithmetic to the rule of three and her Scripture was very fair. However she had no Grammar, no History, no Geography and her Spelling was imperfect. After five months at college when she made "very great progress in every respect" she gained a third class teacher's certificate and went to Nottingham.
4. Elizabeth Carter aged 22 came from Hampstead but had no previous employment. Her spelling was fair but all other subjects were very poor. After

¹ Gloucestershire Record Office, IN 4/7, 1833-51.

four months at college she obtained a post in Clifton.

5. Mary Anne Charles aged 26 a companion from Tewkesbury who was recommended by the Rev. E.W. Foley could do simple subtraction but had no Knowledge of Grammar, Geography or History, little Knowledge of Scripture and her spelling was very poor. After only three months her acquirements on leaving were recorded as Reduction, the Geography of Palestine, England, Scotland and Ireland, she was able to parse simple sentences, had done History up to the reign of Edward II and her Spelling and Knowledge of Scripture were much improved, she went to Lympsham in Somerset.
6. Sarah Davies aged 18 who registered on 9th November came from Hereford but had no previous occupation. Her Knowledge of Scripture was very deficient and she had no Grammar or other subjects. She was "good tempered with pleasing manners but wanting stability". After eleven months training she was "much improved but will only be a second class teacher". Her first post was at Tirley, near Tewkesbury where her salary was £30 per annum plus a house. She later moved to Tamworth.

Six women, who were admitted in the last week of January 1848, were listed in the report for 1847, which was published on 27th January.

7. Ellen White aged 28 and A. Tupper were both from the Isle of Man and
8. recommended by the Rev. Dr. Carpenter. They had no previous employment. Ellen White was generally deficient at all subjects and left after eleven months to teach in Coalbrookdale for £40 per annum plus a house. A. Tupper's educational attainments were not recorded but she obtained a third class teacher's certificate and went to Liverpool.
9. M.A. Bunce aged 21 years, a governess from Edmonton and Mary Carter aged
10. 17, an assistant teacher from Birmingham both had some Knowledge of

Scripture. After six months M.A. Bunce went to teach in Manchester after gaining a third class teacher's certificate where she earned £45 per annum. Mary Carter went to Birmingham.

11. Caroline Weeks aged 18 was a dressmaker from Bath. She had some Knowledge of Arithmetic. After six months at Cheltenham she went to teach in Clifton near Rugby.
12. J. Weaver 17, a maid from Cheltenham who was recommended by Bromby was fair at Scripture and knew some Arithmetic. After nine months at college she gained a third class teacher's certificate and was appointed to Trinity Church School in Cheltenham.
13. M.A. Buckland aged 18 from Gloucester who was admitted in February had had no previous employment but apart from Scripture and History her attainments were "fair in all respects". After only one month at the college she left and was recorded as being a "Mistress in possession of a school". No place was named.

Five students including three from Cheltenham were admitted on 25th March.

14. M.A. Pilley, a governess aged 19 who was recommended by Bromby was generally deficient at all subjects. After a short time she left through illness.
15. Sarah London, a Lady's maid, aged 27 could write neatly but was "generally uninformed". After nine months she obtained a post near Trowbridge.
16. S. Basset, the third girl from Cheltenham was a private teacher aged 17 years. Her attainments at Scripture and Arithmetic were fair. After nine months training she gained a third class teacher's certificate and went to Hull.
17. Elizabeth Paul aged 26 was a schoolmistress from Weston Super Mare, whose Knowledge of Scripture was tolerable, though she was deficient in all other respects. After nine months at college she went to teach in Clifton.

18. Finally S. Payne aged 21 a schoolmistress from near Birmingham was fair at Scripture and Arithmetic. After fifteen months she obtained a third class teacher's certificate and went to a school in Cardiff.

A comparison between these two groups the first male and female students at Cheltenham reveal a number of differences. The females were a little more mature, only three were below 18 years of age compared with six men and seven were aged between 22-30 compared with six. Nine of the women came from semi professional backgrounds compared with five of the men and fewer were classified as working class; two compared with five. The educational attainments of the males on entry were better. Only four men were said to be defective at all subjects and eleven at specific subjects compared with eleven women who were considered to be generally defective together with six who were defective at specific subjects. On the other hand only one male was considered to be generally fair at all subjects with eleven fair at specific subjects compared with three women whose attainments were generally fair and thirteen who were specifically fair at various subjects. The males stayed longer at college. Only three left after less than six months compared with eight of the females and nine stayed for more than a year compared with only one amongst the women.

Cheltenham was founded as a national institution which recruited students from throughout the land. However in this first intake fifty two per cent of the male students were from the local area, (seven from Cheltenham and five from Gloucestershire). Three others came from the Midlands and one from Trinidad. The female students came from a wider area. Two were from the Isle of Man, five from the Midlands, two from the South West, two from the London area and only thirty eight per cent were local.

The experience of training increased the students' chances of moving to

different areas. Of the men in this sample only two returned to their place of origin to teach. Seventy seven per cent went elsewhere. Only one woman took her first teaching post in her home area, one failed to complete her course, one obtained a school which was not named; of the rest ninety three per cent moved to another area. This was most probably the result of the marketing system which operated at Cheltenham for teachers who had finished their training successfully. During this period the demand for trained teachers greatly exceeded the supply. Evangelicals wrote to the Principal for suitable candidates to staff their schools and Bromby encouraged individuals to apply. He explained how this worked in the annual report for 1851. "During the last year, I have received above 400 applications for Teachers, counting double Schools as one. Within the last two months, there have been three applications for Under Masters in Training Colleges; and during the last week I have received a friendly letter from the Bishop of Bombay, offering £300 a year to a candidate, suited by attainments, piety, and antecedents of life for ordination, to take charge of the School for children of European soldiers.¹

One would have expected some to return to the parishes of the Clergy who had recommended them and there is no evidence that Bromby had a policy of encouraging students not to do so. However the process of matching students to posts as they become available seems to have increased mobility. Presumably the students were in favour of this. The improved status of the certificated Elementary schoolteacher² and the grants which were made by the Committee of the Council on Education, towards their salaries also led to upward social mobility for most of the students, particularly those who were from the working class. Close & Bromby would have been in favour of this.

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.4 p.25.

² They ranked as lower middle class. More, C., 1992 op.cit, p.114.

The statistical tables which follow are for the period 1847-51. These confirm some of the differences which have been noted between the males and females in this first sample and the increased mobility which was common to both. Those for 1852-78 are rather different because nearly all of the students were ex pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars.

The Student intake: Section 1

Tables 1-15 are based on a statistical analysis of 288 students, (151 males and 137 females) admitted between 1847-51.

The Student Intake: Statistical results of the analysis of 288 students (151 males and 137 females) admitted between 1847-51.⁽¹⁾

Section 1. Tables 1-15 show:

1. The number of students admitted to the Training Institution.
2. The cumulative list of students in training or sent out to schools.
3. Age of male students registered.
4. Age of female students registered.
5. The social class of students based upon their previous occupations.
6. The educational attainments of the students on entry.
7. Source of college fees.
8. Dates of student admission.
9. The length of training of male students.
10. The length of training of female students.
11. Home origins of male students.
12. Home origins of female students.
13. Mobility of students. First teaching posts obtained by male students.
14. Mobility of students. First teaching posts obtained by female students.
15. The first teaching posts obtained by male and female students according to general areas.

1. CH 21/21/2 and CH21/21/3, CH 41/1/1-32, 1848-79.

Table 1. The number of students admitted to the Training Institution, 1847–1851.

Year	Men	Women
1847	18	6
1848	30	32
1849	23	25
1850	30	32
1851	50	42

Table 2. The cumulative list of students in training or sent out to schools.

Number of students training and trained according to the Annual Reports			Number registering in the following year	
Report date	Men	Women	Men	Women
27.1.1848	29	12	11	6
? .1.1849	57	45	9	8
9.2.1850	79	74	9	0
6.2.1851	115	107	16	14
19.2.1852	178	158	17	18

Table 3. Age of male students.

Age of male students registering at College, 1847-1851						
Year	Number	Under 18	18-21	22-30	Over 30	Unknown
1847	18	6	6	5	1	0
1848	30	5	9	9	4	4
1849	23	3	12	7	1	0
1850	30	3	11	12	1	3
1851	50	4	11	13	3	19
Total	151	21	49	46	10	26
%	-	13.9	32.5	30.5	6.6	17.2

Table 4. Age of female students.

Age of female students registering at College, 1847-1851						
Year	Number	Under 18	18-21	22-30	Over 30	Unknown
1847	6	0	3	3	0	0
1848	32	8	14	9	1	0
1849	25	9	8	6	3	0
1850	32	9	12	4	2	5
1851	42	3	13	12	4	10
Total	137	29	50	34	10	15
%	-	21.2	36.5	24.8	7.3	10.9

Table 5. The social class of students based upon their previous occupations.

Year	Total		At school		No previous calling		Working class		In a trade		Semi-professional										Middle class		Unknown	
											Assistant teacher		School teacher		Private teacher		Other							
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
1847	18	6	2	-	-	2	5	-	4	2	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	-			
1848	30	32	5	-	-	10	3	2	10	4	1	4	2	5	2	6	2	-	1	1	4	-		
1849	22	25	2	1	-	10	3	2	1	1	6	3	1	4	5	3	3	-	-	1	1			
1850	30	32	7	5	-	10	7	2	9	-	1	6	4	3	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	4		
1851	50	42	19	5	-	6	4	1	4	4	3	6	5	7	-	4	3	1	1	11	7			
Total	151	137	35	11	-	38	22	7	28	11	13	19	14	19	8	15	8	2	4	3	18	12		
%			23.1	8	-	27.7	14.5	5.1	18.5	8	8.6	13.8	9.2	13.8	5.3	10.9	5.3	1.4	2.6	2.1	11.9	8.5		

28.4% of male and 39.9% of female students were semi-professional, i.e. teachers or clerks.

28.4% of male and 39.9% of female students were semi-professional, i.e. teachers or clerks.

Table 6

The Educational attainments of the students on entry, 1847-51

Yr	N°	Generally deficient at all subjects	Deficient at specific subjects								Generally Proficient		Fair at Specific Subjects							
			Scripture	Grammar	Spelling	Maths	History	Geo- graphy	Hand- writing	Good	Fair	Scripture	Grammar	Spelling	Maths	History	Geo- graphy	Gen Knowled ge	Latin & Greek	
1847	M 18	4	4	5	2					1		2		8			1			
	F 6	5		1		1	1	1			1		1			1				
1848	M 30	1		4	13	5				1		4	3	24		1		2		
	F 32	23						1	2		4	5	1	1	1					
1849	M 23	5		8	1	3					2	4	4	7				2		
	F 25	13		1	1					1	6									
1850	M 30	no information																		
	F 32	24		6	5	6					8									
1851	M 50	no information																		
	F 42	26	2	2	1	5				6	8	2	2							
Total N°	71 137	M 10 F 91 101	4 2 2	17 10	16 2	8 1 2	1	2 1 1	1 2	0 7	15 26	8 8	9 1	0 1 1	39 1	0 1 1	1 1 1	4 0 0		
%		M 14.0% F 66.4%	67 21	4% 9%	very weak	at at	at at	0% 5.1%	21.1% 19%	85.9 9.4	% %	good	at	one	subject					

Table 7 Source of College fees.

College fees or premium paid by:								
Year	Total number		Student	Parents	Sponsor	College Exhib'n	Q.S. Grant	Not known
1847	M	18	9	5	4	0	0	0
	F	6	6	0	0	0	0	0
1848	M	30	21	5	1	0	0	3
	F	32	15	11	6	0	0	0
1849	M	23	13	6	0	0	0	4
	F	25	6	11	8	0	0	0
1850	M	30	8	1	3	0	0	18
	F	32	3	20	9	0	0	0
1851	M	50	0	0	0	0	0	50
	F	42	8	17	9	1	5	2
Total	M	76	51	17	8	0		-
	F	135	38	59	32	6		-
%	M		67.1	22.3	10.5	0		-
	F		28.1	43.7	23.7	4.4		-

Table 8 Dates of student admission.

	January–March		April–June		July–September		Oct–December	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1847	0	0	10	0	3	5	5	1
1848	15	12	3	0	9	12	3	7
1849	8	9	3	11	11	0	0	0
1850	9	14	9	0	9	13	2	0
1851	18	31	4	0	13	7	6	3
1852	32	24	1	7	12	14	5	7
1853	34	36	2	7	19	8	9	9
1854	63	29	2	3	13	8	0	1
1855	30	41	0	0	6	0	0	0
1856	41	29	1	0	10	3	0	0
1857	44	0	3	0	12	0	0	0
1858	46	29	0	0	0	0	0	0
1859	57	44	0	0	0	0	0	0
1860	57	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
1861	54	41	1	0	0	0	0	0
1862	52	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
1863	56	38	0	0	0	2	0	0
1864	35	33	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 9

Length of training of male students (1847 - 51)						
Year	Number of Group	Less than 6 m	Less than 12 m	1 - 2 years	2 - 3 years	3 years
1847	18	3	6	6	2	1
1848	30	5	8	12	3	2
1849	23		2	14	6	1
1850	30		18	8	3	1
1851	50		17	33		
Total	151	8	51	73	14	5
%		5.3	33.7	48.3	9.2	3.9

Table 10

Length of training of female students (1847 - 51)							
Year	Number of Group	Less than 6 m	Less than 12 m	1 - 2 years	2 - 3 years	3 years	No Infor- mation
1847	6	5	1				
1848	32	1	17	10	3		1
1849	25		6	14	3	2	
1850	32		3	19	10		
1851	42	1	5	30	6		
Total	137	7	32	73	22	2	1
%		5.1	23.4	53.3	15.3	1.4	

Table 11

HOME ORIGINS OF MALE STUDENTS 1847 - 1851

Year	Total N ^o s	Chelt	Glos	S.W.	Wales	S.	London & S.E.	Midl	E.Anglia	N.	Scotland & Ireland	I.O.M. & Chan Isles	Abroad	Not known
1847	18	7	5				1	3		1			1	
1848	30	6	5	4		1	2	8	1	1	1		1	
1849	23	1		4		1		7	4	3				3
1850	30	3	1	5			1	13						7
1851	50	2	1	8	2	1	6	4	3	7	1	1	1	13
Totals	151	19	12	21	2	3	10	35	8	12	2	1	3	23
%		12.5	8	13.2		2	6.6	23.8	5.3	8			2	

Table 12

HOME ORIGINS OF FEMALE STUDENTS 1847 - 1851

Year	Total N ^o s	Chelt	Glos	S.W.	Wales	S.	London & S.E.	Midl	E.Anglia	N.	Scotland & Ireland	I.O.M. & Chan Isles	Abroad	Not known
1847	6	1	1				1	3						
1848	32	6	2	4			4	10		4		2		
1849	25	3	2	5				9	1	3		2		
1850	32	1		1	2	3	3	5	2	2		1	0	12
1851	42	2	5	8	3	0	6	11	2	2	0	1		2
Totals	137	13	10	18	5	3	14	38	5	11		6		14
%		9.4	7.3	13.1	4.6	2.1	10.2	27.8	4.6	8		4.3		

Table 13

MOBILITY OF STUDENTS 1847 - 51

First teaching post obtained by male students					
	Total N°	Failed to complete	In home area	In a different area	No Info
1847	18	2	2	14	1
1948	30	4	5	20	1
1849	23	1	2	19	1
1850	30	1	3	24	2
1851	50	3	3	38	6
Total	151	11	15	115	11
%		7.2%	9.9	76.1%	7.2%

Table 14

First teaching post obtained by female students					
	Total N°	Failed to complete	In home area	In a different area	No Info
1847	6			6	
1948	32	1	6	21	4
1849	25		4	21	
1850	32	2	6	22	2
1851	42	1	8	28	5
Total	137	4	24	98	11
%		2.9%	17.5	71.5%	8.7%

Table 15

The first teaching posts obtained by male and female students
according to general areas (1847 - 51)

Type of Area	Male Students			Female Students		
	Nº	%	Nº who went home	Nº	%	Nº who went home
London and Home Counties	6	3.9	2	7	5.1	4
Industrial Areas, Midlands, North & South Wales	23	15.2	2	44	32.8	6
Other large and medium sized towns	42	27.8	1	42	30.6	9
Small towns or rural areas	52	34.4	7	29	21.9	5
Abroad or Channel Islands and Isle of Man	6	3.9	3	2	1.4	
Died or left through illness	11	7.2		4	2.8	
Left to return home				4	2.8	
No info.	11	7.2		7	5.1	
Totals	151		15	137		24
Percentage of students who returned to home area			9.9			17.5

The Statistical Analysis: Comments on the Tables.

Table 1 shows the number of students who were admitted during the first four and a half years. The total intake of men and women over this period was almost equal and would have been if an equal number of women had been admitted in 1847.

Table 2 shows the number of students who were either in training or had been sent out to schools according to claims made in the first annual reports. The practice of adding names of students who registered in the January of the following year accounts for most of the discrepancies between these tables. If the students who registered in January 1852 (17m & 18f) are added to the totals of students who actually attended (according to table 1), the annual report of 1852 was only exaggerating the intake by a small margin; i.e. ten males and three females. During this period three men died and seven left (four through ill health), one woman, Mary Wilkins, the first to register, also died and nine left (five because of ill health). Their names however are all listed in the annual reports.

Some students attended for very short periods and were not included in the annual lists. For example James Chamberlain, aged 15 years was admitted on April 19th 1849 but left soon afterwards, Mary Elizabeth McKay aged 28, a nursery governess who was the widow of a missionary from Benares in the East Indies trained for 6 months in 1849. She was considered intelligent and was "fairly conversant with elementary subjects" but her character was not thought suitable because she was "very conceited and unsociable towards her fellow students". Perhaps this explains why she was not included in any of the lists published in the annual reports after 1850. J. Chamberlain is not included in the following analysis and there may be others who attended but for whom there are no records. Even so these statistics are the most accurate which have yet been produced.

Tables 3 and 4 show the age at which students registered at the college. In general the female students were younger, 29 or 21% were under 18 compared with 20 or 13% of the

men. More of the male students were over 22 years of age, a total of 56 or 37%, though there was an equal number of women in the age range above 30 years. The largest group of students was aged between 18-21 years though in the case of the men they were outnumbered slightly by the more mature entrants.

Table 5 shows the social class background of the students according to their previous occupations as noted in the registers. Nearly all of the male students (over 88%) were either at school or entered college as adults and had had previous employment, compared with just over 63% of the female students. Of these 28.4% of the male and 39.9% of the female students were classed as semi-professional usually because they were teachers.

During this period fifty of the male students were of working class origin, making a substantial minority of 33%, compared with thirty five (23.1%) who were from school and forty three (28.4%) who were from professional or semi professional backgrounds. The first pupil teachers entered college in 1850, three in that year and nineteen in 1851. From then on pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars made up a majority of the intake. By 1858 only one student who registered was not a Queen's Scholar.¹ The large number of pupil teachers who were accepted in 1851 increased the proportion of students who had come straight from school and provided the college authorities with a foretaste of what was to come. Until then only sixteen out of a hundred males had been schoolboys.

Those students who have been classified as from a semi-professional background were mainly assistant teachers, school masters and private teachers. Presumably the private teachers ran their own schools and wished to improve their qualifications. No note was made as to whether any of these schools had failed. Eight men were classified as semi-professional, who were not school teachers. They were clerks, including two attorney's clerks, a book-keeper and a teacher of music. Four men were considered to be middle class, one was a druggist and

¹ See Table 19, p.329.

three were farmers, one from Australia. He was James Campkin aged 28, from Melbourne who was admitted in April 1850 and went to teach in Wortley, W. Yorkshire.

The working class students: those who were "drawn from miscellaneous sources" have been divided into two categories for this analysis to distinguish those who were not following menial occupations but had a trade. In 1848 the Committee of Council on Education reported that "the majority of the young women in training is drawn from the families of those who are raised a little above the poorest class."¹

This analysis differentiates between those men who were raised a little above the poorest class by classifying them as "in a trade". Those who were not in a trade are listed as "working class": a somewhat arbitrary classification but one which was considered necessary in view of the variety of occupations. These suggest that many of the men were motivated by a genuine desire to teach and were not driven to it by economic necessity.

The twenty two male students who were classified as working class included gardeners, an assistant sexton, servants, a groom, a horse-clipper, a tree turner, a miner, a railway servant and ragged schoolteacher, a station warehouseman, a cotton weaver, a wool sorter, a cloth manufacturer, a butler, a stone mason, a book seller's assistant, a lace-maker and a soldier from Warley barracks. Those who were classified as in a trade included wheelwrights, a carpenter, a cabinet maker, a whitesmith, a plumber, a painter, a tailor, a grocer, a baker, a draper, a jeweller, a bookmaker, a printer, an engineer and a galvanising machine maker.

Eleven (8%) of the female students were from school, eighteen (13.1%) were classified as working class or in a trade, fifty five or (39.9%) were from semi-professional backgrounds being assistant teachers, teachers in charge of schools or private teachers.

Two who were also classified as semi-professional were Mary Charles admitted 1847, the companion from Tewkesbury and Sarah Slaggs admitted 1851, aged 45 years from

¹ P.P. Committee of the Council on Education, Minutes 1847-8, Vol.11 p.500.

Chesterfield who was a housekeeper at a boarding school. After fifteen months she went to teach in Tenby. The first female pupil teachers were admitted in 1850, at least two in that year and two who were Queen's Scholars in 1851. In 1852 there were nine Queen's Scholars. From then on as with the men pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars made up the majority of the intake. After 1861 virtually 100% of the students at St. Mary's Hall were Queen's Scholars.¹

Three students were considered to be middle class. These included Martha McKay from Benares and Mrs. Daveney, aged 35 years, who had six children and was the widow of a surgeon. She came from Norwich and was sponsored by a medical society. After fifteen months she went to a private school, presumably her own.

Thirty eight of the female students (27.7%) had no previous calling. Unfortunately parental backgrounds were not recorded in the Cheltenham registers as they were at Hockerill College between 1852-60² Consequently there is no way to classify these students according to social class but their parents must have had sufficient means to support them and to pay their college fees³. At Hockerill 72% of the students were the daughters of professional people, managers, white collar workers or skilled workers.⁴ At St. Hild's College, Durham during the 1850s most of the students' fathers were "small tradesmen and artisans and there was only one labourer and one collier."⁵ From 1870 Widdowson detects

¹ See Table 20, p.320.

² Heafford, M., *Women Entrants to a Teacher's Training College 1852-60*. University of Cambridge Department of Education, p.17.

³ See Table 7, p.302.

⁴ Heafford, M. *op.cit.* p.17.

⁵ Boyd, M.V. "Teacher Training at St. Hild's College, Durham 1858-1910", M.Ed. Thesis 1977, Durham University, p.39.

a trend for more female entrants to teacher training to come from the lower middle class, from the families of clerks, shopkeepers and teachers themselves.¹ It seems likely that this was also the case at Cheltenham between 1847-51 particularly with this group, though the evidence as to home background is lacking. However one student Jane Geddes who registered in 1850 has been classified as middle class. She came from the Isle of Man, was defective at English Grammar and Arithmetic and her character was careless. However she had been to Africa and America, which suggests that her family could afford to travel. The remaining students in this group have not been classified.

The seven female students who were considered to be working class were two maids, two shop assistants, a draper's assistant, a lace corder and a shoe binder. The eleven who were classified as in trade were all dressmakers apart from one milliner. One of these H. Osborn aged 17 years from Cheltenham who was the daughter of a missionary was also probably from a middle class background. After a years training she left in 1849 to teach in Manchester.

In general the female students included fewer who were considered working class or in a trade than amongst the men, which was probably due to the lack of opportunities available for women at that time. More were classified as semi-professional because of the larger number who were engaged in teaching.

Table 6 shows the educational attainments of the students on entry according to the notes which were made in the registers. Although these records are incomplete because notes about attainment ceased in the St. Paul's register in 1850 the tendency for the men to be better educated which was noted when comparing the first students is confirmed. Ten males (14%) were considered to be generally deficient or defective at all subjects and forty eight

¹ Widdowson, F., "Going up into the Next Class; Women and Elementary Teacher Training 1840-1914", 1983, Appendix Table 6 and pp. 66-68.

remarks were made about deficiencies at specific subjects. If these were allocated equally, (i.e. one to each student) they suggest that 67.4% of the men were weak at one subject, most likely Grammar or Spelling. By contrast one was considered generally good and fifteen generally fair. Under the same terms, (i.e. by allocating one subject to each student) 85.9% of the men were fair at a specific subject, most probably Arithmetic. If the records had continued during 1850 and 1851 more men would have been considered generally good or fair because of the influx of pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars.

Ninety one women (66.4%) were considered to be generally deficient or defective at all subjects and thirty remarks were made about deficiencies at specific subjects most likely Arithmetic and Grammar. This suggests that 21.9% of the women were weak at a specific subject. However most of the registrar's comments at St. Mary's Hall were about the general ability of the students and only referred to specific subjects occasionally. This may account in part for the very large difference in general attainment between the sexes, which results from this analysis. By contrast seven women were considered generally good and twenty six generally fair. This represents 24.1% of the intake. However most of these more promising students entered college in 1850 and 1851 and were early products of the pupil teacher system. Two who registered in January 1851 were Maria Nuttall aged 20 years and Catherine Harden 19 yrs who had both been pupil teachers at Baldwin's Gardens in London. They were Queen's Scholars in the first class and were considered to be good at all subjects. After a year Maria Nuttall gained a first class teacher's certificate and returned to teach in Hatton Garden, Catherine Harden, who originally came from Pembroke Dock gained a second class certificate and went to Forest-town school in Sussex.

The comments which were made in the register for St. Mary's Hall were often sweeping but suggest very low standards of education for women in general. S. Trinder aged 16, from Coln St. Aldwyn, Gloucestershire, who had no previous calling and was admitted in July 1848

was summed up as one who "knows little and understands less". M.A. Pilley, aged 19 years, a governess from Cheltenham also admitted in 1848 was "generally deficient" but later left because of illness. Elizabeth Keen, aged 16 who was a mistress at an Infant School in Tamworth was described as "very defective in all subjects". After eighteen months training she returned to her original school. Dorcas Thomas aged 22 who was an infant school teacher in Cheltenham, admitted in October 1850 was described as "indolent and very deficient in every subject". After twelve months she was appointed to St. Luke's Infant School, Birmingham. Sarah Lewis, aged 23 a village schoolmistress from Coalbrookdale, who was admitted in January 1849 was described as "very deficient at all subjects". After six months she was appointed to Weston Beggard, Herefordshire. A large number of the female students who were at home and had no previous calling were considered "deficient, very low" or as in the case of Ellen Hards, aged 17 yrs from Stourbridge "remarkably backward". Perhaps more surprising many of the assistant teachers, governesses and National schoolmistresses were also considered deficient generally or in specific subjects.

Table 7. The fees which students paid for board, lodging and tuition varied from £25 per annum for male students during the first year to ten shillings per week for females. These were considerable sums of money which must have discouraged working class students from training. It is interesting that such a large number of students who were of working class origin, even though they were a minority paid their own fees and attended college between 1847-56. After that nearly all of the students were Queen's Scholars who had their fees paid for them. Widdowson identified this as the period when students were most likely to be from working class homes. Entrance fees ranging from £25 to £10 were charged during the financial crisis of 1864 but these were reduced to a minimum of £5 in 1866 and abandoned altogether in 1868 when the number of male applicants for the following year was reduced to twenty one.

The figures for table 7 are incomplete because no record was made of who paid the fees at St. Paul's College after 1850. More male students paid their own fees, 67.1% compared with 28.1% of the females.

Twice as many of the women had their fees paid for them by their parents or by sponsors as in the case of the men. This is not surprising considering that fifty nine of the women were either still at school or had no previous calling. In 1852 nineteen of the female entrants had no previous work but this number was rapidly reduced as the number of Queen's Scholars increased. Between 1857 and 1878 only six women were admitted to college who had no previous calling. Of these five had passed the examination for a Queen's Scholarship.

Table 8. Before 1854 students were admitted after each quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee at almost any time of the year, though the first quarter January-March and the Summer quarter July-September were the most popular. After 1854 no more students were accepted during the months October to December. By 1858 almost all of the admissions were between January and March, most of them in January.

Tables 9 and 10 shows the length of training of the male and female students, between 1847-51. At Cheltenham as at St. Marks and at York the full course was originally intended to last for three years,¹ apart from those students who were in charge of schools who could be admitted for shorter periods. The entry regulations stipulated that those who left before they had completed six months training would not be eligible for a College Certificate. In fact only 8 males and 7 females left after less than six months, nearly all of these were from the first two years.

A very small number of students stayed for three years or more, less than 4% of the men and 2% of the women. These were usually school pupils who had been admitted at the age of 16 years or less.

¹ Collins, J., 1985, p.131.

In the third Annual Report for 1849 Bromby drew attention to the financial advantage of persuading students to remain for more than twelve months. "A Grant of £130 has been paid from the Committee of Council towards the maintenance of the Institution during the past year. The amount depends upon the number of Students who gain certificates, having been 12 months in residence; six only had fulfilled these conditions; but had the remaining twelve, who also gained certificates, completed their year, the grant would have amounted to £385."¹

The largest proportion of students, over 57% of the males and 69% of the females stayed at college for over a year and a minority over 9% of the men and over 15% of the women completed a second year, thus earning an extra grant. Altogether 189 students trained for more than a year.

More men left after less than twelve months than women, over 33% compared with over 23%. Amongst the women the number who did so fell off very sharply after 1848. Perhaps this was because more were in the younger age groups or their educational attainments were lower. At first the period of training varied according to age and experience and the college could not rely on the students to stay for any fixed period. In a report written in 1845 for the Committee of the Council on Education the Principal of Borough Road College commented on "the few students who remain with us for more than six months"². The inspectorate was keenly aware of this problem and frequently assessed the average length of training in its reports so some comparisons with other colleges are possible.

At Chester in 1847 and at York two years later the average length of stay was fifteen months. It was approximately the same for both men and women at Cheltenham during the same period.

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.3 p.25.

² Collins, J., 1985, op.cit., p.131.

Between 1852 and 1878 nearly all students followed a two year course, taking examinations, which earned a government grant at the end of each year. There were always exceptions however. In 1852 Bromby recommended a student to the Bishop of Bombay and four more to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the following year. These left too early to earn the college a grant. In the eighth annual report for 1854 he explained that a minute by the Committee of Council on Education had enabled him to present "ordinary" students at the end of twelve months as candidates for the Queen's Scholarship examination, even though they had not been pupil teachers. He explained "I have already made use of this regulation, in replacing those who during the first year have proved themselves inferior to others who have enjoyed none of their advantages. A greater encouragement is now held out to young people of the right kind, earnest, thoughtful, and of missionary spirit, who, for the last few years, have been deterred by want of funds, and by fear of being outstripped by the more privileged competitors....we have been able to substitute Students of one year's residence, and of doubtful promise, by new ones of more unexceptionable qualities."¹

By that time there were two clearly defined year groups in each department. Each year Bromby reported the examination results. In 1858 the results were listed in grid form showing that there were 58 male candidates in the first year and 36 in the second. The number of females was omitted though he mentions thirty two in the first year.² After 1872 the total numbers of students was given in each year group.

Tables 11 and 12 show the home origins of the students from 1847-51. For this analysis the United Kingdom was divided into nine large areas, with separate columns for those students who came from Cheltenham and Gloucestershire. In general it confirms the claim that Cheltenham was founded as a national training institution rather than a local one,

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.8, 1854, p.19.

² C.H. 4/1/1.12, 1858, p.27.

though altogether 54 students were recruited from the local area, representing 20.5% of the male and 16.7% of the female intake. After 1851 this local bias continued. In 1860 2% of the men and 20% of the women were from Gloucestershire. In 1870 the proportions were 7% and 10%.¹

During the first four and a half years an even larger proportion of the men, 23.8% and women 27.8% came from the Midlands, particularly the West Midlands. Twenty entrants, 4 men and 16 women came from Birmingham. Six of these women were recommended by one clergyman the Rev.G.S. Bull. After 1852 the Midlands continued to supply a high proportion of students. In 1860 8% of the men and 25% of the women were from there and in 1870 the proportions were 15% and 32%.² The neighbouring South West, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Bristol also provided a fair proportion of entrants about 13% of both sexes. An increasing number came from the North, particularly the industrial areas of Yorkshire and Lancashire. By 1851 about 8% of the men and women who had trained were from there. In 1860 18% of the men and 19% of the women were from Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire. In 1870 22% of the men and 10% of the women came from those areas.

The London area also supplied a fair proportion of students.

Between 1847-51 6.5% of the men and 15% of the women had come from London and the South East. In 1860 4% of the men and 5% of the women came from "London and its Environs". By 1870 10% of the men and 16% of the women were from that area.³ Nineteen students had transferred from Highbury to Cheltenham in 1865 when that college closed,⁴ a factor which probably led to an increased contingent from the metropolis.

¹ More, C., 1992, op.cit., Table 5.1, p.105.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

⁴ See Table 16, p.326.

Some students came from Wales which later became an important source and also from East Anglia and the Southern counties. There were a few men from distant places. Australia, Trinidad, Holland, Scotland, Ireland and Jersey all sent one. Five women came from the Isle of Man, three of whom were recommended by the same clergyman. One woman was from Guernsey.

During the early years recruitment was dependant upon personal contact. Evangelical Clergyman recommended students to the college. Altogether the Cheltenham Clergy who were members of the Executive Committee recommended 37, including 18 by Bromby himself. Close only recommended 7. The Rev. G. Brown sent four students from Lenton in Nottinghamshire and Evangelical strongholds such as Bath, Bristol and Clifton contained fifteen parish clergy who recommended 21 students. The Rev. J. Birtwhistle sent two from Beverley another Evangelical centre and the Rev. H. Conway four from Chatham and Rochester.

After 1852 personal contact between the college and Evangelical Clergy probably became less important than feedback from previous students who encouraged their own pupil teachers to apply.

Evangelical principles and contacts continued to play a part in the recruitment of students for many years because of the objectives and constitution which Close had laid down. However other factors ensured that it attracted large numbers of Queen's Scholars from all over Britain and continued to develop as a national institution, "unconnected with any diocese, unconnected with any area" as Close originally planned. The most important of these were the improvement in rail transport, the growth of industrial towns, the formation of school boards, which paid higher salaries in urban areas and the growing reputation of Cheltenham as a centre for training successful teachers.

Tables 13 and 14 show how many of the students who were trained between 1847-51

returned to their home areas to teach. The tendency for the vast majority to move away from home which was noted in the survey of the first intake is confirmed in this larger group. Amongst the men only fifteen returned to their home area, 115 or 76.1% went elsewhere. Only twenty four women returned to their home area and 98 or 71.5% went to teach elsewhere. There was no significant difference between the sexes as far as increased mobility as a result of training was concerned.

Table 15 shows the type of area in which the students took up their first appointments after college.¹ Nearly twice as many of the women went to industrialised areas in the Midlands, the North and South Wales and an equal number but slightly higher proportion to other large or medium sized towns. More men, 34.4% compared with 21.9% went to small towns or rural areas.

Of the fifty four students who were recruited from Cheltenham and Gloucestershire only five, three men and two women took jobs in the local area. George Matthews aged 23 had good reason to return to Woodchester as he was the local schoolmaster. Joseph Wilkins aged 16 who had been an assistant at St. Paul's School went to Tewkesbury probably at the request of the Rev. E.W. Foley and John Bee, the schoolboy from Brockhampton went to Cainscross and later to Sheffield. Mary Walker, a shop assistant from Dumbleton, who was aged 16 and described as very backward, returned to her own village after 14 months training, presumably to take charge of the School. Elizabeth Wilson who had been recommended by Close who was also very backward went to Rodborough.

Columns three and six of Table 15 show the number of students who returned to each area. The highest proportion returned to London, perhaps because it offered attractive posts. Also the capital covered a large area. All of these students were pupil teachers who

¹ See also More, C., 1992, *op.cit.*, Table 5.3, p.111. This table is based on his format.

registered in 1851 except Harriet Salter who came from home at the age of 16, gained a first class certificate and returned to Chelsea. John Hancock aged 18 also went to Chelsea after gaining a second class certificate. Another student from London who was a pupil teacher and gained a first class certificate was John Rocket. He went to teach in Southsea.

Two men and three women returned to Birmingham, one woman to Nottingham, one to Liverpool and one to Cardiff. One of the women who returned was Elizabeth Hollis who had been recommended by the Birmingham sub committee. Another was F.A. Garner aged 32 years, an infant schoolmistress who after six months presumably returned to her own school. The men were William Berridge a 17 year old clerk who obtained a second class certificate in 1848-9 after only three months and George Hodges aged 20 who was a bookseller's assistant. He trained for twelve months and gained a first class certificate. Birmingham attracted six male and five female students, Manchester one male and five females. All of the students from Rochester who had been recommended by the Rev. W. Conway returned to their place of origin. One of these Joseph Draper a 20 year old whitesmith who entered college in 1848, trained for fifteen months and obtained a first class certificate. He was the only male to return to a medium sized town. The others were females aged between 18 and 25 years who registered in 1848-9. Both of the students from Beverley, one male and one female who were recommended by the Rev. J.B. Birtwhistle also returned. Perhaps some of these students had given an undertaking to return home after training. Five of the men who returned to small towns in rural areas were from the South West, Bridgewater, Weston Super Mare, Glastonbury and Weymouth. Arthur Skinner the 21 year old horseclipper also went back to Yeovil. Thomas le Boeuf the fifteen year old from Jersey returned to his native island. So did William Robertson from Trinidad and Richard Eusden the 19 year old Private teacher from Holland returned to the Hague. Others who were from distant parts remained in England. M.A. Jones from St. Peter's Port,

Guernsey went to teach in Leamington, William Hammond the 16 year old from Dublin took a post at the Old School, Cheltenham and later went to Birmingham.

On the other hand, Louisa Kemish a 20 year old dressmaker from Nailsworth, trained for fifteen months and went to Jersey and Matilda Dickson a 29 year old from Devonport, who had taught for four years at an industrial school and was described as "deficient in all subjects but very fair at Scripture", trained for ten months and went to the Mission School in Jerusalem.

Tables 13-15 show that during these early years even a short period at the Cheltenham Training Institution gave successful students a wide range of opportunities because of the acute shortage of trained staff at the National Parochial schools. Bromby seems to have encouraged his students to be ambitious and to take advantage of the large number of requests for teachers which he received at this time. As with Disraeli's hero Vivian Grey it must have seemed that the world was their oyster not to be opened with a sword but a world which would be changed by teaching the young. Some men like John Cordwell moved from rural areas to teach in industrial centres. He was the 28 year old schoolmaster from Brimscombe who went to Wolverhampton and later to Walsall. Others took charge of schools in small towns. John Glenville aged 30, an attorney's clerk from Tetbury trained for six months and went to a school in Stonehouse near Plymouth. Another attorney's clerk Henry Wright aged 18 from Birmingham, who was "backward in all subjects", trained for a year and went to teach in Sissinghurst, Sussex. Most of the men became head teachers which may account for the high proportion who went to rural areas where headships were more likely to be offered.

It is quite surprising that such a large number of women, many of whom had had no previous employment, went to teach in industrial and urban areas. C. More suggests that women were more likely to be employed as assistant teachers than men and that the large

schools in these areas required many assistants.¹ There is however no information to confirm this.

The Church of England was stronger in rural areas and small towns but Anglican Evangelicalism flourished in some urban areas. Perhaps the women were motivated to go to these areas by missionary zeal as Close had originally intended.

This completes the comments on the first set of tables.

¹ More, C. 1992, op.cit., p.109.

The Student Intake: Section 2

Tables 16-21 are based on a statistical analysis of 2,244 students, (1,288 males and 956 females) admitted between 1852-78.

The Student Intake: Statistical results of the analysis of 2,244 students (1,288 males and 956 females) admitted between 1852-78.⁽¹⁾

Section 2. Tables 16-21 show:

16. The number of students admitted each year.
17. Age of male students registered.
18. Age of female students registered.
19. The previous occupations of the male students.
20. The previous occupations of the female students.
21. The previous occupations of the students over five year periods. totals and percentages.

1. CH 21/21/. and CH 211/21.3, C.H. 41/1/1-32, 1848-79.

Table 16. - The number of students registered each year.

Year	Males	Females
1852	50	52
1853	65	60
1854	78	41
1855	36	41
1856	56	32
1857	59	39
1858	46	29
1859	57	44
1860	57	32
1861	55	41
1862	52	31
1863	58	38
1864	35	33
1865	51	28
1866	37	35
1867	31	29
1868	36	32
1869	21	26
1870	41	32
1871	50	27
1872	44	33
1873	46	47
1874	45	33
1875	47	31
1876	43	31
1877	49	31
1878	43	28

Table 17.

Age of male students who registered.

Year	Below 18	18 - 21	22 - 30	30+	No Info.
1852		14	3	2	31
1853	2	51	8	1	3
1854	10	59	5	4	
1855		28	1		7
1856	1	48	5	1	1
1857	3	45	9	2	
1858	2	41	1	2	
1859		54	3		
1860	1	50	5		1
1861		49	2		4
1862					52
1863		54	3	1	
1864		34	1		
1865		51			
1866		34	3		
1867	1	30			
1868					36
1869					21
1870					41
1871		48	2		
1872	1	43			
1873		44	2		
1874	3	41	1		
1875	1	46			
1876	5	35			3
1877	2	44	1		2
1878		41	2		
Totals	32	984	70		202
%	2.4	76.6	5.4		15.6

Table 18.

Age of female students who registered.

Year	Below 18	18 - 21	22 - 30	30+	No Info.
1852	13	19	8	2	10
1853	6	49	5		
1854	3	31	5	2	
1855	6	29	5	1	
1856	1	25	5	1	
1857	5	30	4		
1858		27	2		
1859	1	43			
1860		30	2		
1861		30	9		2
1862		31			
1863		31			7
1864	2	31			
1865		28	1*		
1866		35			
1867		29			
1868	1	31			
1869		26			
1870	1	30	1		
1871	2	25			
1872	1	32			
1873			1	1	45
1874	1	29	3		
1875	1	30			
1876		31			
1877		31			
1878		28			
Totals	44	790	5	8	64
%	4.6	82.6	6	0	6.6

Table 19.

The previous occupations of male students.

Year	Total for Year	At School	Other	Pupil Teacher	P T & Q S	Teacher & Q S	Teacher	No Info.
1852	50			10	9		1	30
1853	65	2	4	32	6		3	16
1854	78	2	3	19	46		8	
1855	36	1	1	9	22		3	
1856	56	11	2	8	32		2	1
1857	59	1	4	19	30		5	
1858	46	1			37	8		
1859	57	1			53	3		
1860	57				53	3	1	
1861	55		1	2	50	1	1	
1862	52			3	46	1	2	
1863	58		1		54		3	
1864	35	1	1		33			
1865	51				†49		2	
1866	37			1	33	1	2	
1867	31		2		29			
1868	36		4		29	2	1	
1869	21		3		15		3	
1870	41	3	2		32	2	3	
1871	50	1			47	2		
1872	44		2		37	1		4
1873	46		5		41			
1874	45		4		40	1		
1875	47	1	4		41	1		
1876	43		3*		40			
1877	49		2*		46	1**		
1878	43		2*		41			
	Nº	25	50	103	992	27	40	51
		1.9	3.8	7.9	77%	2.0	3.1	3.8

* Queen's Scholars

** A teacher in the C.M.S., Sierra Leone

† Including 19 transferred from Highbury College

Table 20.

The previous occupations of female students.

Year	Total for Year	Nº previous calling	At School	Other	P T	P T & Q S	Teacher & Q S	Teacher
1852	52†	19			6	6	20	
1853	60	6			25	14		15
1854	41	6		1	1	22		11
1855	41	5			3	26		7
1856	32	2		2	4	18		6
1857	39					27	5	2
1858	29		1			24	3	1
1859	44		3		1	37		3
1860	32	2*			1	20	7	2
1861	41				2	38		1
1862	31					31		
1863	38					35	2	1
1864	33					33		
1865	28					28		
1866	35	1				34		
1867	29					29		
1868	32					32		
1869	26					26		
1870	32					32		
1871	27					27		
1872	33					33		
1873	47	1*				45	1	
1874	33	2*		1*		30		
1875	31					31		
1876	31					30	1	
1877	31					30	1	
1878	28					28		
	Nº	44	4	4	43	756	40	49
		4.6			4.5	79.1	4.1	5.1

* Queen's Scholars

† No info. on one student in 1852.

Table 21.

The previous occupations of students over five year periods, totals and percentages.

Male Students

Year	Total N°	At School	Other	Pupil Teacher	P T & Q S	Teacher & Q S	Teacher	No Info.
1852-56	285	16 5.6%	10 3.5%	78 27.3%	115 40.3%	0 0%	17 5.9%	47 14.7%
1857-61	274	3 1.1%	5 1.2%	21 7.5%	223 81.3%	15 5.4%	7 2.5%	
1862-66	233	1 0.4%	2 0.8%	4 1.7%	215 92.2%	2 0.8%	9 3.8%	
1867-71	179	4 2.7%	11 6.1%		152 84.9%	6 3.3%	7 3.9%	
1872-78	317	1 0.3%	22 6.9%		286 90.2%	4 1.2%		4 1.2%

Female Students

Year	Total N°	At School	Other	Pupil Teacher	P T & Q S	Teacher & Q S	Teacher	No Info.
1852-56	226	38† 16.8%	3 1.3%	39 17.2%	86 38.0%	20 8.8%	39 17.2%	1 0.4%
1857-61	185	6 3.2%		4 2.1%	146 78.9%	15 8.1%	9 4.8%	
1862-66	165	1 0.6%			161 98.1%	2 1.2%	1 0.6%	
1867-71	146				146 100%			
1872-78	234	3 1.2%	1 0.4%		227 97%	3 1.2%		

† Of no previous calling

The Student Intake 1852-78

Tables 16-21 provide information about 2244 students who attended the Cheltenham training schools between 1852 and 1878. Table 16 shows the number of male and female students who entered the training schools each year, Tables 17 and 18 show the age at which they registered. The majority of these students completed a two year course. Tables 19 and 20 show the previous occupations and status of the students each year and Table 21 gives this information over periods of five years.

Between 1852 and 1857 86.7% of the male and 87% of the female students were Queen's Scholars.¹ After 1864 the term Queen's Scholar disappears from the registers and the entrants are listed as "Passed Candidates" until 1867. From then on they are admitted "pursuant to Article 107 of the Revised Code". Queen's Scholarships were started again in 1871.² In this review however all of these students have been referred to as Queen's Scholars because they either received grants from the Government or generated them for the institution. This has simplified the analysis.

The total intake during this period was 1,288 males, an average of 48 each year, and 956 females or an average of 35 per year. The new college for men was first occupied on 6th April 1850 but it was some time before it was full. There was a delay before it could be furnished. Also few pupil teachers completed their apprenticeships and qualified for Queen's Scholarships before December 1851. In 1850 the Committee of the Council on Education asked their inspectors for reports on the numbers in training. H.M.I. the Rev. H. Moseley drew up a table which compared the National and Diocesan Training schools for men. This

¹ See Tables 19 & 20, p.329-330.

² 21/2/2 The Admission Books

shows that Cheltenham was half empty and that the course at that time officially only lasted one year.

<u>" College</u>	<u>No.of places</u>	<u>No.in residence</u>	<u>Prd.of residence (yrs)</u>
Battersea	68	68	1
Carmarthen	45	38	3
Chelsea, St.Mark's	60		3
Cheltenham	90	40	1
Chester	110	40	3
Durham	20	15	2/3
York	55	47	3 ^{"1}

The new college for men was originally designed for eighty students but apparently it could accommodate a hundred. The old hospital which was rented for the female students from 1850-1869 could only accommodate sixty. It was planned to increase this number to eighty when the new building for women was commissioned in 1868 but the Department of Education restricted the number in training to fifty nine. The permanent building was completed to comply with this restriction. Consequently the expansion to 80 which took place in 1872 as the result of an initiative from the SPCK had to be made in rented accommodation.²

Table 16 shows that a large number of men and women entered the training schools between 1852 and 1854. These were mainly the first pupil teachers who had completed their

¹ Minutes of the Committee of the Council on Education, Special Report for 1850 P.P. 1850-51, Vol.1, p.32.

² C.H. 4/1/1.26, 1872, pp.20-21.

apprenticeships. Those who were awarded Queen's Scholarships paid no fees. The decision to accept all of the pupil teachers who applied, free of charge, which was made by the Executive Committee in December 1851 ensured that the new building for men was fully occupied within a short time. In 1859 Bromby claimed that he was in charge of 160 young persons,¹ so both training schools were filled to their maximum capacity. The following year he reported examination results for 97 men and 58 women.²

Throughout this period the number of women candidates for Queen's Scholarships at Cheltenham remained constant. There were always more applicants than places available. These amounted to thirty per year with some allowance for wastage but depended upon the number who stayed on for a second year. The 1863 report claimed that "the female department is full to excess",³ despite the effects of the Revised Code. In 1865 Robert Chamney, the second Principal reported "In the Female Department the number of Students is 58; of this number 24 are in the second year, and 34 in the first, Thirty-one Students left at Christmas, 30 are in School work and the other is on the point of being engaged. I receive very favourable reports of Students who left in 1864."⁴

In his report for 1871 Chamney reviewed the years of crisis between 1867-1871 when student numbers fell and claimed that "during the whole of this testing time, the Female College, under Miss Reynolds' excellent superintendence never had a vacancy unfilled."⁵ Perhaps the reputation of Cheltenham and Miss Reynold's efficiency played a part in keeping

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.13, 1859, p.18.

² C.H. 4/1/1.14, 1860, p.16.

³ C.H. 4/1/1.17, 1863, p.18.

⁴ C.H. 4/1/1.19, 1866, p.15.

⁵ C.H. 4/1/1.26, 1872, p.20, Chamney married Miss Reynolds in 1886.

St. Mary's Hall full. However the fact that it was rather smaller than the men's department and that there were fewer places available was also important. Also the £10 entrance fees which were imposed in 1863 and reduced to £5 in 1867 may have been less of a burden to female students whose socio-economic backgrounds were generally better than those of the men.

The training school for men was usually full until 1864 when the financial cuts imposed by the Revised Code began to have an adverse effect on recruitment because of the reduction in the number of pupil teachers. The report for 1863 noted that "in the male department forty out of fifty vacancies are filled up." Numbers fell sharply in 1864 but this was masked in the report for that year by the transfer of nineteen students from Highbury College in January 1865. The Annual General Meeting for 1864 was held back until June 14th 1865, when Close travelled from Carlisle to take the chair following Chamney's appointment.

After that the shortage of Queen's Scholars reduced the male intake to below the average until 1870 though Cheltenham attracted more than its share of those who remained. Chamney reported that "in 1867 when the whole number of successful Male Candidates for 13 Church of England Colleges was only 224, which in an equal division would not have given quite 18 to Cheltenham, even then 36 were entered here."¹ Even so in 1869 the total number of male students resident in a college with accommodation for 90 or more was only 51. This increased to 60 in 1870 and to 89 in January 1871.² From then on the 1870 Education Act brought about "a change of view throughout the country as to the profession of teacher", and the male training school was always full. This was partly due to the stimulus given by the new School Boards but "still more by the increased energy on the part of school

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.26, 1872, p.20.

² C.H. 4/1/1.24, 1870, p.18.

managers to keep School Boards away."¹ The demand for well trained teachers for the elementary schools grew. The report for 1873 commented on the constantly increasing demand for Certificated Teachers and could not foresee that this was likely to decrease. In that year 135 men applied for 45 places and 118 women for 33.² This competition for entry made it possible to select more of the most able candidates according to the Government list. In 1877 when there were 130 applications for 44 vacancies in the male department thirty of those accepted "had passed in Class 1 of Queen's scholars. In the female department, of 28 admitted, 27 were in Class 1 and one only in Class 2." 108 women had applied.³

Each year however a minority of students, particularly at the male department were admitted with second class Queen's Scholarships or less. Some may have gained a place because of their Evangelical connections or piety but this is not mentioned in the registers or reports. It is more likely that pupil teachers who gained the highest marks were attracted to the colleges in London rather than Cheltenham. Bromby had pointed this out in 1860 when he asked the governors to bear in mind "that for some reason or other by far the larger number of well-prepared Queen's Scholarships have of late years repaired to one or other of the London Institutions."⁴ This preference for the Metropolis was stronger amongst the men. Between 1866 and 1870 when the number of applicants to the men's department was low various incentives were tried to attract more. A prize and exhibition fund was started in 1865. The following year a Church Education Society grant of £50, which was matched by

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.26, 1872, p.20.

² C.H. 4/1/1.27, 1873, p.15.

³ C.H. 4/1/1.31, 1877, pp.12 & 13.

⁴ C.H. 4/1/1.14, 1860, pp.16 & 17.

the Executive Committee was used to help twelve poor students.¹ In that year also the entrance fee of £10 per student which had been levied since 1864 was reduced to £5. "The experience of the last two years has proved, that only a very limited number of young men can be found to pay an entrance fee of £10. And although the Female department has hitherto just been filled, many very eligible candidates have been lost, in consequence of requiring an entrance fee double the amount required at the principal Female Training Schools."²

In 1868 scholarships worth £5 were given to Queen's Scholars of the first class and smaller sums to those in the second class. These measures seem to have had only a marginal effect upon recruitment of men compared with the stimulus resulting from the 1870 Education Act. Fees were raised to £6 for male students with second class certificates or less in 1871 and to £8 in the following year. Those with first class certificates paid £4. All women paid a uniform fee of £5.

Tables 17 and 18 show the ages of the students on entry. Very few of the total intake were below the age of 18, only 2.4% of the men and 4.6% of the women. A slightly higher number, 70 men or 5.4% of the total and 58 women or 6% were over the age of 22. Of these very few (13 men and 7 women) were over 30.

In his report for 1861 Bromby attacked the Revised Code not only for interfering with the pupil teacher system but for almost abolishing it.³ He looked back "to the days when Queen's Scholars as yet were not", namely between 1847-51. Since then he and the college

¹ C.H. 4/1/1.20, 1866, p.14.

² *ibid.* p.15.

³ C.H. 4/1/1.15, 1861, p.17.

authorities had seen "the gradual results of the incoming wave of such students".¹ These were that "it must be taken as a fact proved to demonstration, that the pupil teacher developed into the Queen's Scholar, and then perfected by two years' training in a good Normal College, is the best type of master the country has yet seen."²

He went on to explain how the intake of students had changed and with some reservations regretted the lack of more mature entrants "as the new order of students, the Queen's Scholars came in, the former class of unprepared, comparatively uneducated, students almost disappeared; and this, not in accordance with the wish of your Committee, nor of the Principal. They desired still if possible to obtain a fair supply of the better students of the former class - men probably of maturer and more steady religious principle and experience than pupil teachers could usually be expected to prove. But the men were not to be had. If the competition of Queen's Scholars should be to a considerable extent removed, it is possible that again an insufficient and precarious supply of them might once more, and with difficulty, be found. But, even so, excepting as to the superior and exceptional specimens of this class, this would be a retrogression in the education of the country."³

In spite of this expressed wish to train some older students no male students over the age of 30 were accepted after 1863. The last was a cotton mill worker who had gained a Queen's Scholarship. Only two women who were over 30 attended the college between 1856 and 1873. One was the widow of steward aged 34 who had three children and the other was in service and had been recommended by Lady Willoughby de Broke. In 1870 a private student,

¹ *ibid*, p.15.

² *ibid*.

³ *ibid*, p.16.

Edward Veale was resident in college whilst studying for the entrance exam following a type of access course. He was admitted in the following year when he was 18.

The vast majority of Queen's Scholars were in the 18-21 age group which made up 76.6% of the male and 82.6% of the female intakes during this period. These percentages should almost certainly be higher because in the years when ages were not recorded the majority of entrants were pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars.

Tables 18 and 19 show the previous occupations and status of the students, though the information as to status is limited since the majority of students 77% of the men and 79% of the women were pupil teachers and Queen's Scholars.

Competition was not so strong for entry to the training school for men and the number of empty places at the college between 1861 and 1871 encouraged the Principal to be flexible in his admissions policy as far as age and previous occupation were concerned. This flexibility continued after the crisis, caused by the Revised Code, eased in 1871. Altogether 115 male students were admitted who were not pupil teachers or Queen's Scholars. Forty were teachers, twenty five came straight from school, two having been paid monitors (admitted 1871 and 1875) and fifty had had previous occupations. Private students who paid their own fees were accepted but these were very few. C. Johannes who was admitted in 1859 came from a school in Bombay, two were admitted in 1867 one of whom was a mercier from Antigua and Edward Veale, who was mentioned above. Thirty six students, who were not Queen's scholars were admitted between 1861-71, seventeen were teachers, five schoolboys and thirteen from "miscellaneous backgrounds". These include a currier aged 25 yrs in 1864, a chorister, a chemist's assistant and an organ builder, 1868, a timekeeper and a clerk, 1869 and a watchmaker and a mason, 1870. Between 1872 and 1878 twenty three students were admitted who were not part of the "incoming wave" of Queen's Scholars though some had gained these scholarships by taking the examination. They formed a tiny minority of men

who had not been through the normal pupil teacher apprenticeship. One was a schoolboy, one a teacher from Sierra Leone who had worked for the Church Missionary Society, three were teachers and the others included a warehouseman, a clerk, a jeweller's assistant, a grocer, a ship's carpenter, an architect and an engineer.

Table 21 which summarises the occupations and status of the students over four five year periods and one seven year period show that even though the admissions policy at the training school for men was more flexible than at St. Mary's Hall, particularly between 1867-78, the overwhelming majority of male and female students were Queen's Scholars. During the years 1867 to 1871 when the "competition of Queen's Scholars" was to some extent removed at the male department more than 88% of the men and 100% of the women who were admitted were Queen's Scholars. The Committee and Principal seem to have wanted to accept mature men but the supply was "insufficient and precarious".

PART TEN**THE CURRICULUM****Professional Training and John Gill**

John Gill was Master of Method from 1856 - 1889. His Educational Philosophy was influenced by many theorists and it is reasonable to assume that he read widely on education. He urged his own students to study the principles and practices of education and "all that others have done" not "only that you may the more effectively do your work, but that you may speak to those publicly charged with its machinery, with a right, a force, an intelligence, and an authority which will compel them to consult you .."¹

His farewell address to students when he retired in 1889 includes brief references to Ascham, Comenius, Milton, Locke, Petalozzi and others but there is no mention of them as sources in his text books, though he quotes from Ruskin, Stow, Addison and Laurie. It is likely that Pestalozzi was his main source because many of his ideas are similar and both men were concerned with elementary education for the poor.

Gill believed that the aim of education was to train children to think for themselves. "We need a system of education that will thoroughly discipline the mind. One that will make our children intelligent, that will give them the desire of knowledge, that will make books and other means of study a necessity of their life; and one that by its method will give them thought-power."²

The precise aim of early education is to fit the individual to be a self-educator to put him

¹ Gill, J. "To the Students former and present of the Training College Cheltenham" after 25 years service, June 9th 1877.

² *ibid*

on the path of self-improvement.¹ Because of this all teaching should give the child pleasure from the exercise of its faculties and a desire to employ them again. To ensure this Gill emphasised activity and child centred methods which would take account of individual differences and rates of development.

"There is great diversity of ability, attainment, character and pursuit among men ... Every mind is marked by some distinguishing peculiarity, termed the predisposition ... of the individual. A considerable part of a teacher's duty is to discover this feature."

"Powers often lie dormant until some unwonted circumstances, by calling them into action, disclose their existence. The teacher must have regard to this fact. It is not for him to disparage any of his scholars, because of the absence of some special faculty; for it may be that the circumstances needful to stimulate it into activity have not been presented."²

For these reasons children develop in different ways and it is vain for the teacher to "look or try for the same results in every case. So Ruskin: - "One man is made of agate, another of oak; one of slate, another of clay. The education of the first is polishing; of the second, seasoning; of the third, rending; of the fourth, moulding. It is no use to season the agate; it is vain to try to polish the slate; but both are fitted, by the qualities they possess, for services in which they may be honoured."³

However Gill warned that this does not mean that any child should be neglected. He described every child's mind as "a locked casket of jewels" for which the teacher had to find the key. To this end all teaching should be connected and not one sided. "There must be harmony betwixt the great departments of education. Physical, practical, moral, aesthetical,

¹ Gill, J., 1883, *An Introductory Text book to School Education, Method & Management*, p.12.

² *ibid.* pp.304.

³ *ibid.* p.5

and intellectual, must run on together, with such aid to each other as their mutual connection supplies. They must be prosecuted together, and their mutual action interwoven, as their combined influence alone can produce a character neither warped nor stunted."¹

Gill stressed the importance of early impressions which tend to be permanent. This he said indicates "that nothing should be taught or done at one period which is opposed to something else at a later one; it suggests that to make early learning unpleasantly irksome is likely to excite aversion to it never to be removed; and it shows that the younger the child the better should be the teacher."

Silent influences were also important. "That the surroundings of children have an educative force must be apparent to all who consider how impossible it is that they should get ideas, say of neatness or order, or tastes for them, or habits of like kind, but as they see them exemplified around them".²

Above all instruction should always be at a level which the children understand. "It is utterly impossible that the truth shall enter the mind of a child at all unless it is presented through examples falling within the range of his experiences."³ Gill echoed Close and Bromby in stressing the importance of moral and religious education. His first lesson at the College on 9th June 1851 was on "ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus not by the water of baptism"⁴ At the end of his long career in 1889 he ended his farewell address by expressing his ideal view of the role of the teacher who should love God and the children in his care.

"Now for a final remark. Your work is an Art, it is a fine Art, it is the finest of the fine

¹ ibid. p.4

² ibid. p.7

³ ibid. p.126

⁴ C.H. 29/1/14, Gill, J. Farewell Address June 14th 1889

Arts. For while you must ... have ideals in all parts of your work ... you have, as the main aim of your work, to bring up the child on its way to God's ideal. Hence your highest sphere is to be fellow-labourers with God. Let this raise your ambition and fire your souls. Despise not one of the little ones for each is dear to God. Farewell."¹

Where teacher training was concerned Gill argued that "The art of teaching cannot be communicated although it may be acquired", there is always an unconscious skill in the practice which is not communicable by rule. The correct method can only be achieved through experience and cannot be learnt from books. However he listed personal qualifications which were desirable in a teacher. These were self-control, geniality, good humour, strength of will, activity, manly character, not querulous, nor suspicious² and added a list of personal and acquired qualifications which he considered indispensable. There were a well informed mind, a competent knowledge of the things he has to teach including a variety of literary and scientific knowledge to illustrate lessons and enrich the minds of his pupils, a knowledge of the child mind its capacity, growth and the means of cultivating it, love of children and love of his work as a profession. "The formation of character being the work of the teacher, that work may be called an art and the worker an artist".³ At Cheltenham his syllabus of professional work, which was published by the Committee of Council in its Annual Report for 1859 showed a clear balance between theory and practice.

"I. Theory

1. All students get up Gill's Text-Book, on those points which belong to their respective years, one hour a week. 2. One lecture weekly to students of first year, on method generally,

¹ ibid.

² Gill, J., 1872 *The Art of Teaching Young Minds to Observe & Think*, p.7

³ ibid. p.8

and on the various educational systems of the present century. 3. Two lectures weekly to students of second year (a) Systems of organisation and school-keeping. (b) Moral discipline. 4. An essay is written weekly by every student on points discussed either in the text-book or the lectures.

II. Practice

1. All students attend at intervals several times during both years of their residence, the practising and model schools, to observe points in method, school-keeping, and discipline, according to a syllabus furnished to them, and to report thereon to the Normal Master. 2. Students of the first year attend the practising schools for about a fortnight, to practise the art of teaching under criticism. 3. Every student of the second year has charge of a division of the practising school for one week, and of the entire school during part of the afternoons of the same week. 4. Each student gives lessons before a class of students on subjects elected by the Normal Master. These lessons are subsequently criticised."¹

Gill maintained a distinction between the practising school where the students took charge of classes and gave criticism lessons and the "model school" where the master of method and other tutors gave model lessons which were observed by the students.

The annual report for 1871 provides further details of work at the boys' practising school which was still St Paul's parish school which the committee had been obliged to purchase to prevent it from being closed.

The plan pursued in this School is as follows:-

Each Student works in the School for about three weeks in the year. There are always eight Students engaged at a time, viz., four of the "second year" and four of the "first year".

¹ P.P. *Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education*, 1859-60, C.E. Eyre and Spottiswood, H.M.S.O., p.324.

They are employed in all parts of the School, and it is so contrived that each Student works half of his time with the upper, and the other half with the lower classes. One Student of the "second year" has charge of the upper division, with one Student of the same year and two of the "first year" under him. Another second-year Student in the other room is responsible for the lower division, with the remaining Students and Pupil Teachers to assist him. They are thus provided with practice in "school-keeping" as well as in "class-teaching". As an exercise they have occasionally to prepare a time-table and work their division according to it.

In addition to teaching their ordinary school subjects they have to give at least one oral lesson per day, which has to be prepared at College in the evening. Carefully drawn up notes are required for each of these lessons.

At the end of their term of school-work, a report of each Student is prepared and sent in to the Rev. The Principal. This report gives an account of each oral lesson given, specially noting the character of the notes, the manner of the teacher, the suitability of the matter selected, the method of the lesson, and the way in which discipline was maintained during its progress. The nature of the Student's general work, and his abilities as a disciplinarian, are also recorded.

Besides the above, six criticism lessons are given every week in the presence of the "Master of Method" and the Students. The Rev. The Principal also attends those given by the Students of the "second year".¹

With such liberal ideas, Gill, like Bromby regarded the Revised Code as a check in the tide of educational progress but 15 years after it was imposed he confidently predicted that it was only a temporary set back.

¹ C.H. 4/1/23, 1872, pp.15-16

"We might well deplore our present conditions could we believe in its perpetuity. It would be an evil of the greatest magnitude to our children and our country should the elementary teacher be reduced to the level of those whom centuries of bad method have made mere "gerund-grinders". Elementary teachers must be - if the country is to be educated - producers of more than automatic results".

For the first 29 years of the Code's operation therefore, Gill laboured hard in the largest Training College in Britain to promote educational ideals which were well in advance of his time and did this with the full approval of his colleagues and those who controlled the institution.

Evidence of students' views of the curriculum during this period is sparse but fortunately two articles which were published in *The Schoolmaster* in 1902, as part of a series entitled, "When I was at College", were written by ex-students from Cheltenham. These were G.A. Christian who won an exhibition in 1873 and left in 1875 and Dr. J.E. Parrott who attended between 1881-83. Both were writing after a considerable time: Parrott writes of "twenty years of toil and stress, of aspiration, endeavour, disappointment, and modified success."¹ Christian who went on to have a distinguished career, becoming an Inspector of Schools to the London County Council also published a book *English Education from Within* in 1922. Their reminiscences are therefore the mature views of men who had gained much experience of Education. They both had vivid memories of their two years at college and their accounts of the impact of collegiate training in general, including the curriculum are interesting, in the absence of more contemporary accounts.

Christian had been a pupil teacher at Stamford C. of E. Boys' School and was very critical of the first year's syllabus which "was generally looked upon as little more than a good revision of one's pupil teacher's course". He gives two examples to illustrate this, "A

¹ Parrott, J.E. *The Schoolmaster*, 27/9/1902, p.459.

few of us had secured the full "D" before entering college; not the slightest attempt was made to carry our art instruction further or to liberate us from the unhappy ideals of South Kensington; the drawing hours were given us for private study in other subjects. Again, I was possessed with the desire to matriculate - at some distant date - at the London University, and found in my second year that I could spare time for Latin - at that time quite an "extra" subject. The only help I got was a few occasional hints from one of the masters who was himself working for the same examination."¹ However he qualifies this criticism by pointing out that during his second year "The English, the Mathematics, and the School Method afforded a wider field and the South Kensington subjects provided welcome additions, not always harmoniously welded to the general course. Physical Geography, Physiology, Electricity and Magnetism, Mathematics (as far as the third stage), and Mechanics offered some variety, and occasionally our fellows managed to secure honours..... Fortunately, many of the subjects were well taught, and our pedagogic work was conscientiously and ably supervised."²

After pointing out that the impression of one's teachers remains long after the memory of their actual work has faded he described members of the college staff, praising the Principal and John Gill in particular.

"Our principal, Robert Maschal Chamney, was a powerfully-built man, who tradition alleged had been a member of the Cambridge crew. He was a sound Evangelical, as befitted the college, and square - physically, intellectually, morally, spiritually. He was so wise, tactful, and diplomatic, that I cannot imagine any Training College chief to have wielded the rod of authority more skilfully than he. In my first year I saw him deeply cut at the conduct of men who had deceived him, and as the senior monitor of the next year it was my pride

¹ Christian, G.A., *The Schoolmaster*, 18/10/1902 pp.599.

² *ibid.*

to serve him loyally and to the best of my ability. He was a fine sample of a Christian gentleman. My pen is hardly equal to the task of describing that worthy pioneer, good John Gill! He struck me as a sort of educational Carlyle. The glasses dangling in the right hand, the unique gesture with the left, the earnest look that repressed all thought of inattention - those and a hundred other features which made up a complex and striking personality, characterised him. He was punctuality personified, and his sense of duty was carried to a fault. I think he was too insistent on his own methods and too ready to check originality, but in his devotion to his work and the loftiness of his ideals he was a fine example and inspiration to young men."¹

Christian was critical of the Library which was "composed of the throw outs of committee men... It was a standing joke"² and of the general tone which was too narrow because it had been founded by strict Evangelicals and was "avowedly run on that basis. One respects the opinions and self sacrifice of pious founders, but the opposition of members of the committee to science-teaching and other liberalising proposals involved some loss to students."

In fact the first grant from the Science and Art department, amounting to £24, was only received by the college the year before Christian attended.³

He also drew attention to the examination system and the lack of home comforts.

"Examinations of various kinds formed an important part of the routine and in both the Government and college tests I succeeded in keeping the first place in the year".⁴

"The home I had left was small and plain, but it required a few days to get reconciled

¹ *ibid.*

² Christian, G.A., *English Education from Within*, Wallace Gandy, London, 1922, p.6.

³ See above p.245.

⁴ *ibid.*

to the bare, white-washed class-rooms and to the plain Long Gallery, which was our reading and common room. Home comforts were unthought-of luxuries, and the dormitories were innocent of hot-water pipes. After prayers we went shivering up into the "Arctic" regions, and were glad to pile our overcoats upon the beds. Breaking the ice in one's water-jug was a common experience."¹

Parrott, who had been a pupil teacher at Clint Road Board School in Liverpool and obtained a first class scholarship was surprised by the lack of equipment at the college which must have had an adverse effect upon the curriculum.

"Our stock of scientific apparatus was enough to make the heart of a Huxley bleed. It consisted mainly of a few ancient and cob-webbed retorts, crucibles, and stoppered bottles, with obliterated labels, all snugly and safely locked away in a glass-fronted case in the ante-room."

"the Practising School was little better than a museum of educational antiquities and an object of derision to those of us who came from the well-equipped Board schools of large towns. Still, Mr. King did miracles with it, and though his *esprit de corps* must have been much wounded by some of the "reports" he received from irreverent students, I believe he managed to regard it with pardonable pride."²

He pointed out that during his first year criticism lessons were given in the Practising School. "Heavens! what ordeals they were. The practising schoolboy, like the choir boy, has surely a double dose of original sin. He is a past master in the art of student-baiting, and the St. Paul's boys were far from being exceptions to the general rule. I have seen a pale, palpitating student artfully lead up to the subject he was about to discourse on and then have every breath of wind taken out of his sails by a Machiavellian youngster who took advantage

¹ Christian, G.A., 1902. op.cit. p.599.

² Parrott, J.E. 1902, op.cit. p.459.

of the first question directed to him to pour out every item of information the wretched teacher had on his notes. I wonder how many of us retired to College in the spirit of Herod. I know I did frequently." "As for the Library, words fail me. It was mainly theological and appeared to have been recruited from the bookshelves of a rural dean who had given up housekeeping. It was thick with the dust of years, and I never saw a student so far forget himself as to take a book out of it."¹

Parrott also praised Chamney describing him as a man of whom he found "it impossible to speak except in terms of the warmest eulogy. Grave, dignified, courteous, he was the *beau-ideal* of a scholar and a gentleman..... It is hard for one who revered and loved the Principal as I did to imagine any man wearing his mantle with equal grace and dignity."

He gives two interesting views of Chamney's teaching. I do not know that the Principal's gifts as a teacher were conspicuous, for I only remember his Scripture lessons, which were given on slumberous afternoons when most of us were dozing peacefully, writing letters home, or "swotting" up a lesson for the next day But if the Principal's Scripture lessons were flavoured with monotony, his little sermonettes at evening prayer were masterpieces. I see him now, the most dignified and impassive figure I ever knew, and hear his clear, cultured tones as he developed the one thought on which his evening discourse centred ... he spoke as he preached, entirely without notes, and I never knew him hesitate for a word. It is ten thousand pities that those charming and sweetly-reasoned discourses should have perished with the eloquent lips that framed them.²

Parrott referred to "Johnny" Gill as "he of Carlean mould and School Management fame" but wrote little on the grounds that "He deserves an article to himself, for he represents a type that is passing away and leaving the world distinctly poorer.

¹ *ibid.*

² *ibid.* p.459.

He also commented on the gaunt spectre of the examination system and the Spartan living conditions. "We lived and moved and had our being in the shadow of the certificate list; it was the be-all and end-all of Training College existence. There were not many hours in the year when we were not either in the actual throes of trial, in imminent expectation of it, or in momentary relief after it. There was an everlasting pulling up of the roots to see how the plant was getting on. This I know now was bad for our education: I knew then that it was very bad for my peace of mind".¹

He seems to be unaware of the importance of good examination results for the financing of the institution.² He points out that ... There was one other drawback. "I do not say that St. Paul's in my day was a cross between a barracks and a workhouse, but I do say that during term-time I never sat in an easy chair, never had a carpet beneath my feet, and never saw an open fire."

The general tone of these articles, which include anecdotes of student life and extra curricular activities suggest that Close was justified in his belief that education and training during a long period of residence would produce a new type of teacher. Both writers referred to what might be described as "a planned succession of activities in a cheerful atmosphere."³ These were intended to develop the character of the student and foster high ideals. Both expressed strong corporate feelings not only for fellow students but for teachers in general.

"Cheltenham owes its popular re-unions to Principal Chamney. There was a reunion at the Whitsuntide of our first year. Well I remember scanning the visitors' book and

¹ *ibid.*

² See above Part 7, p.211.

³ See above p.136.

realising that Heller - fresh from his election as General Secretary of the Union - Grove, Hernaman, Huitt, Baker, and others were back within their old college walls. With pride I write that Cheltenham has always contributed its full quota of professional leaders. The free air of Cheltenham naturally favours union and professional spirit: while some college principals and officers have been content to recommend Unionism - for others - the Cheltenham staff, from the principal downwards, have always taken their places in the ranks and borne their share of local duties. With Mr Chamney it was never "You elementary teachers" but "We elementary teachers", and this spirit of genuine *camaraderie* is a permanent element in the place."¹

"Yes I am proud of belonging to Cheltenham. I am proud to claim the kinship of a common college with Heller, Grove and Addiscott, with Organ, Christian, and - to come down to my own time - with Thomas. One of the most delightful surprises of my life was to find that when the Manchester Conference came to be reported, Christian, Thomas, and I - all Chelts, were alone engaged to do the work for *The Schoolmaster*. Thomas and I linked arms in the same "scrum", and there is no surer bond of fellowship. He was the college poet and humorist."²

In his final paragraph Christian comments on the impossibility of analysing the extent to which college life had influenced him but concludes "that among the forces which have operated for good it stands for much."

Clearly he was not thinking of the curriculum but of the whole experience of collegiate training during "the happy and joyous days of youth". To a large extent therefore these articles both confirm the point which Close made about the curriculum in 1848. That "the actual amount of knowledge thus received and imparted is in point of fact a subordinate

¹ Christian, G.A. op.cit. pp.599-60.

² Parrott, J.E. op.cit. p.459.

consideration - it is the secondary symptoms, so to speak, arising from collegiate training which produce the good results."¹

¹ See above p.146.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the foundation of the training institution at Cheltenham was the work of the Rev. Francis Close, not a response to a widespread demand for such a college by Evangelicals throughout the British Isles. He played a key role at every stage. From first to last the institution was his creation, the culmination of more than twenty years during which he had changed the character of the town and turned it into an important educational centre. He organised the founding society in 1845, drafted rules and regulations, made plans for male and female departments, presided over every meeting and may even have written the first minutes. Others who were involved were nearly all residents of Cheltenham and well known to Close or clergy whom he had appointed. When the college was begun he made sure that his plans were implemented and his rules obeyed by acting as chairman of the committee and all sub committees. He interviewed staff, and students, negotiated with the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, raised funds and wrote the annual reports. The account of the foundation which Close wrote in the annual report for 1848 emphasised the role of Codner and others who were not resident in Cheltenham, in order to promote the image of a national college unattached to any diocese and unconnected with any territory. This is what it eventually became but Archdeacon Thorpe's assertion in 1849 that it was "Mr Close's college" was true at that time.

As the institution developed the controlling bodies, the governors, the committee and the principals gradually took over from Close the role of maintaining the strict Protestant principles of the foundation. This was particularly the case after he became Dean of Carlisle in 1856. Nevertheless Close's influence persisted long after he left Cheltenham: his rules, principles and precedents provided a mould which remained set for years, he may have hoped for ever. The stone which commemorates Miss Jane Cook's gift of land includes the

phrase "until the end of time". Not only this, he remained a governor and vice chairman and returned to Cheltenham to assist in college affairs from time to time. When the future of the institution was threatened by the Revised Code he attended the special meeting in September 1863 to strengthen the determination of the governing body to ensure that it would survive.

He supported and defended his training institution against all critics and against all threats caused by changes in government policy until the end of his life. Shortly before he died he returned his own copy of the first three annual reports to the Rev. R.M. Chamney, who was the Principal. Inside the cover he wrote a note which revealed the extent to which he had been involved from the beginning. "On looking through these I note that they are all my own composition. I did also most of the deputation work. Mr. Bromby accompanied me to Clifton and some places. When I look at the work since done I can say "What hath God wrought! To him be the glory and thanksgiving." Francis Close, Dean of Carlisle, May 1880".

Study of Cheltenham during the early part of the 19th century and an account of the churches and schools which were established by Close between 1824-45 show that the original initiative for the foundation of a training college in the town would have fallen "upon fertile ground". However the failure to establish such a college in London between 1845-7 casts doubt upon More's assertion that such a college would have been established by Evangelicals if Codner's letter had never been written.

The determination, experience, vision and resources which Close and his associates commanded in Cheltenham was not readily available in other Evangelical centres at that time, nor later as shown by the closure of Highbury College in 1864.

This study of Close, his religious beliefs, educational ideas and accounts of the controversial issues in which he was engaged has made it possible to take a more balanced

view of his educational work than hitherto. There can be no doubt that he was one of the most important pioneers of education in Britain during the 19th century. His interest in the infant schools which he established in Cheltenham deserves recognition in its own right but his ideas on teacher training were even more important.

The second part of this study investigates the control and financing of the institution; the staff, students and professional training. It shows that there was a very strong element of continuity in views and attitudes towards teacher training throughout this period. This persisted against a background of change and ensured that the dominant motive for the foundation was recognised and continued to be important. At Cheltenham the "dominant motive" was concern about the growth of Tractarian influence at the other training colleges run by the National society and a desire by Close to perpetuate his own religious beliefs and educational ideas. His particular concern was to provide spiritual guidance for the children of the poor. Influences such as the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, H.M.Is and the Revised Code and changes in the student intake affected the institution but the ethos and tradition which sprang from Close's own brand of Evangelicalism persisted in spite of change. The quality of the professional training which was given to the students combined with their examination record and the missionary zeal of an influential minority enhanced Cheltenham's reputation as an educational centre whose students exerted a growing influence at home and abroad.

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